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Lave-Browne

THE
CHOTA NAGPORE MISSION;

ITS HISTORY AND PRESENT POSITION,

BY

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TO
COL. T. E. DALTON, C.S.I.,
COMMISSIONER OF CHOTA NAGPORE,
THE FOLLOWING SKETCH,
OF A RACE TO WHOM HE IS AS "A FATHER,"
AND OF A MISSION OF WHICH HE IS A TRUE FRIEND,
IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages lay no claim to originality. They aspire to nothing more than to being a continuous, truthful history of this very remarkable Mission to the Kôls ; the facts have been gathered from every available source, and are here strung together in narrative form. The author set before himself a two-fold object, to which he has done his best to adhere throughout,—that his account of the Mission should be *reliable*, and that it should if possible, be *readable*.

When the idea was first conceived, during a visit at Ranchi last April, all that seemed wanting to give wider publicity to the efforts of the worthy and devoted founders of the Mission was a short sketch of the origin and progress of their labours ; but the reception of the main body of the native converts, with several of their Pastors, at their own earnest solicitation, into the Church of England, has led to so much lamentable misunderstanding, and in some quarters to such gross misrepresentation, that it has become necessary to take a far wider range ; to enter more fully and minutely into the earlier history of this mission, and to add a statement of the facts, with an explanation of the reasons, which rendered this change necessary.

As nothing is set forth in these pages without good authority to support it, it may be well to specify the chief sources from which the details of the narrative have been drawn :—*

* The author regrets exceedingly that he did not know until these pages had passed too far through the press, of the existence of two very interesting papers on this mission, from the pen of McLeod Wylie, Esquire, in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for 1858. Their value chiefly lies in the accounts (which the author has met with nowhere else) of the persecutions and sufferings of the Kôl converts during the mutiny.

A paper on the "Kôls of Chôta Nagpore," by Colonel E. T. Dalton, C. B., Commissioner of Chôta Nagpore, published in the Ethnological Volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1866, page 152; (referred to as *Col. Dalton's Paper on the Kôls : As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol., Vol. for 1866*);

"Geographical and Statistical Report of Chôta Nagpore, by Capt. G. C. Depree, of Topographical Survey," published at the Surveyor-General's Office; (referred to as *Capt. Depree's Geog. Rep.*);

Annual Reports of the Chôta Nagpore Mission from 1863-67, (these will be designated in the notes by the letters "C. N. M. Rep.," and the years specified);

An article in the (Calcutta) *Christian Intelligencer*, for June 1863, entitled "a Missionary Success," signed H. H. B. (the Rev. H. H. Burney, at that time Chaplain of Hazareebagh);

A short account of Bishop Cotton's visit to Ranchi in April 1864, published under the head of "Intelligence" in the June number of the (Calcutta) *Christian Intelligencer* of that year, (believed to have been contributed by Bishop Cotton himself).

"A Report of the Deputation of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee of the Chôta Nagpore Mission, appointed to attend the Missionary Conference held at Ranchi on the 18th-22nd November 1868," signed by "J. Schröder and William Atkinson," to which is appended all the Correspondence which passed at that time between Mr. Ansorge, the leading Residents at Ranchi, the several Members of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, and the Missionaries. (This is referred to by the letters "*C. A. C. Rep.*")

A pamphlet entitled the "Chôta Nagpore Mission; an account of its origin, and an appeal in its aid." Written by a Resident at Ranchi. (This will be referred to as the "*Ranchi Pamphlet.*")

A pamphlet under the same heading, being "A brief statement of the circumstances under which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were induced to take charge of the Mission to the Kôls in Chôta Nagpore," to which are added copies of the appeals made to the Bishop

by the Native Christians and the English Residents. (This will be quoted as the "*S. P. G. pamphlet.*")

Articles and letters in the *Friend of India* and the *Englishman* newspapers, which will be referred to under their several dates.

English translations of the several letters from the *Curatorium* to the Missionaries, the Ranchi and Calcutta Committees, and to the Bishop.

The author has been careful thus to indicate all the sources from whence he obtained his information, that he and his readers may start with that distinct understanding, that there is not a statement made in these pages for which good authority cannot be produced. In the case of every important statement, or actual quotation of words, the exact reference has been given, at the risk of burdening his pages with foot-notes.

In now sending forth this his humble effort to give the public, in India and in England, a truthful account of all that has passed in connexion with this most interesting Mission and its old Pastors, the writer's earnest desire is that a knowledge of the facts may be extended both here and at home, in the assurance that it will win over many sympathising supporters to the Chôta Nagpore Mission, and many friends to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which, on the representation of the Bishop, came to the rescue of a noble Mission on the verge of ruin.

Magna est veritas, et, oppressa diu, tandem prevalebit.

in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Illustrated Times*. This will be proved by the *Illustrated Times* and the *Illustrated London News*. The *Illustrated Times* and the *Illustrated London News* are the only two newspapers which will be referred to in the present paper.

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The author has been careful not to indicate in the present paper which of the illustrations are his own and which are those of the *Illustrated Times* and the *Illustrated London News*. There is not a statement made in these pages for which the author cannot be held responsible. In the case of every illustration a statement of the author's name is given, and the risk of misquoting his paper is thus avoided.

It now remains for this his humble effort to give the public in India and in England, a truthful account of all that has passed in connection with this most interesting Mission and the old Pastors, the writer's earnest desire is that a few words of the facts may be extended both here and in England. The assurance that it will give many advantages to the public for the *Illustrated Times* and the *Illustrated London News* is the only for the Propagation of the Gospel, which, on the representation of the Bishop, came to the rescue of a people in the state of ruin.

Alvin C. Smith, Esq., Secretary of the Propagation of the Gospel.

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THE MISSION : ITS ORIGIN.

A QUARTER of a century ago there landed in Calcutta four German Missionaries, in Lutheran orders—Pastors E. Schatz, F. Batsch, A. Brandt, and H. Janké,—imbued with a large measure of the evangelizing zeal of the good Pastor J. E. Gossner,* who had sent them forth, a name which is a household word in many a home beyond the borders of his own Fatherland. They left Berlin in the summer of 1844, and reached Calcutta in December of that year. As to their future course, they brought out no definite instructions ; no particular race, or creed, no special district, had been marked out for them—only a slight preference indicated for the unexplored wilds of Thibet, to which the recently-published results of the travels and missionary efforts of Abbé Huc were just then drawing attention. They were therefore free to go whithersoever an opening might seem to present itself. The wide world of Hindostan lay before them, wherein to choose the field for their missionary labors.

Calcutta, teeming with a varied population, represented the still more varied millions of India. There was the caste-

* John Evangelist Gossner was a Bavarian by birth, born in 1773, of Roman Catholic Parents, and educated in the Romish Church. He was early in life influenced by the Reformed faith. His evangelising zeal manifested itself during the latter years of his life in the establishment of Missions. In the words of his biographer : “ Every year has its own story to chronicle of Missionaries equipped “ and stations opened—now it is the Gold Coast—now it is Java or Macassar ; at one “ time under shelter of the Dutch, at another of the English ; the Cape also has in “ turn, and so has New Guinea, (and, most successful of all, India). Wherever a “ people were living without God, there Gossner was waiting to step in.” (See a brief biography of Gossner in “ Praying and Working,” by the Rev. W. J. Stevenson.)

proud Hindoo, hedging himself round with his time-honored traditions, and the restless Mahometan, burning with intense antipathy to his Christian masters; the two great classes, almost equally inaccessible to the Christian Missionary, which were then supposed by many to constitute the whole population of India, or were at least for a long time regarded as the only classes requiring, or worthy of, a Missionary's efforts. But besides the Hindoo and the Mahometan, these German Missionaries noticed a race differing as much from either in creed

The Kôls.

and character as they did in appearance and temperament; sometimes so small as to seem almost dwarfs beside the martial *physique* of a Rajpoot of Oude, or the muscular frame of a stalwart Pathan of the Punjab frontier; yet well proportioned, many of them almost to symmetry, all well-knit, muscular, and "active as monkies;" their faces darker than the average Hindoo; their thick prominent lips, and broad flat noses contrasting strikingly with the fine chiselled features of the Brahmin, or the classic *contour* of the Mahometan; yet did their simple, earnest faces indicate minds of a more attractive and promising order than either; energy, in the place of the listless apathy so characteristic of the worshipper of Brahma; simplicity of character, so different from the bold, licentious look which too often marks the follower of the Prophet. Ugly they undoubtedly were: but withal not wanting in points of interest and attractiveness. They were engaged in the most menial occupations, working at the public gardens, repairing the roads, digging out canal banks, clearing out drains; yet they seemed always light-hearted and happy in their work, however heavy or repulsive; and were noted for their industry. They were known by the generic term of *dhangers*; * not

* This term literally means mountaineers, or hillmen, from the Hindi word *Dang* or *Dhang*, a mountain or high ground. (H. H. Wilson's Glossary.)

unfrequently were they designated "savages" by the lower class of Hindoos, who affect a considerable superiority in intelligence; they were really the "navvies" of India, but free from many of the blemishes which attach to that character in England.

Such was the class of men who attracted the notice of these German Missionaries. So deeply interested were they in these apparently very uninteresting creatures, that they resolved to follow them to their homes, which was represented as being on some high grounds ten or fifteen days' journey, that is, two or three hundred miles, west of Calcutta.

This particular class were distinguished by the name of Kôls. *

Before we proceed to speak of the labors of these devoted Missionaries, it may be well to say a few words on the early history of this remarkable race—the Kôls.

It must be admitted that, as a rule, Englishmen in
 Aboriginal or *pre-* India, and still more so in Eng-
Aryan races. land, know very little of the earlier
 phases of life through which Hindostan has passed. Thanks to the labors of Hodgson, and Hunter, and others, "the fog" is beginning to clear away. We are beginning to see further, and more distinctly, into the earlier past of India. We can travel with a sense of security beyond the days of Mahmoud of Guznee, formerly considered the extreme limit of the authentic history of India; beyond the expedition of Alexander the Great,—an event which by some was regarded as possibly apocryphal; beyond even the four-fold wave of Hindu invasion, allegorically represented as the emanation of

* It is more commonly spelt Coles, and was originally an "epithet of abuse applied by the Brahminical races to the aborigines of the country who opposed their early settlement." Colonel Dalton's paper on the Kôls of Chôta Nagpore. A. Soc. Jour., Ethnol., vol. for 1866, page 154.

the four great castes of Hindus from the different parts of the body of Brahma—which were long treated as uncere- moniously as were the treasured legends of the old king- dom of Rome by Heerens ; beyond even the successive invasions from Hindoo Koosh, headed probably by some, now forgotten (if ever known), Alarics and Attilas of the East ; ages and ages beyond them,—and can find records, unwritten, aye, and many of them *written in stones*, of a period before Bud- dhism or Brahminism overran the country, or even a Hindu had set foot in India ; when its fertile plains which had tempted them, as they tempted the Mahometan at a later period, were peopled by races perfectly distinct, and in a far earlier stage of civilisation ; vestiges of whom still remain here and there to testify to a once almost universal rule of what are now called *pre-Aryan* races. In fact, the drama of the successive conquests of England had been enacted centuries before in India. The Hindu was no more an original inha- bitant of Hindustan than were the *Angles* of England. The remote, wild, high grounds of North Wales and Cornwall to this day possess, in the dialect and character of their people, traces of the old Briton occupation ; so does the great Vindhya- an range, with its off-shoots running East and West, retain evidences of a long extinct supremacy, in the remnants of aboriginal races who erst in primitive barbarism and savagery, ages gone by, lorded it over the plains of India. Like our poor uncultured Britons, these rude Dravidian tribes—on whom their Aryan invaders have heaped the most contemp- tuous epithets, because they dared to struggle, and to struggle boldly, for their ancestral plains and almost deified river banks—were driven further and further, higher and higher, before the advance of each successive wave of invaders, and forced to accept the alternative of being absorbed into the invading masses, or of seeking refuge, and a bare existence, on

the rugged sterile heights where Hindu greed and avarice would not follow them. In some cases, these aboriginal races have merged into the great Aryan body—their language and their name lost in those of their conquerors; in others, however, able to maintain a certain national independence, they have preserved their hereditary laws, and customs, and character, but little affected by the contact of their more powerful neighbours. And in maintaining their independence from the great invading body, they have also to a great extent preserved their tribal individuality among themselves. Still with all the differences in language and in customs, which now distinguish the several tribes one from another, they have kept enough in common to show a common origin. All have, in a greater or lesser degree, traces of that awful superstition, snake-worship—or as it really is, *Devil-worship*—which characterizes, and which seems to have universally prevailed among the *pre-Aryan* races.

We have dwelt thus at some length on the origin of these people, because we cannot but fear that the existence of these races is but little known even in India itself, and still less in England; and because the two great Missionary Societies of the Church of England have been so long content to restrict their efforts within the “old grooves” (if we may be allowed the expression) of Hindu and Mahomedan conversion, and have deplorably failed to realise how great is the field spread before them, “white unto harvest,”—how wide is the door ready to open to them—in the direction of these aboriginal tribes.*

* We by no means overlook the vigorous efforts made by the Church Missionary Society among the Santhals; but they date from a later period than that we are considering. Nor do we for one moment ignore the labours, in some cases so successful, of Non-Conformist bodies, such as the American Baptists, among the Garrows of Assam; or the Karens of Burmah; and others. Our only hope is that our own Church Societies may be induced to extend their operations over similar fields.

To return to the Kols. These few remarks will, it is hoped, suffice to explain their origin, and their position among the races of India. Their home is on the offshoot from the great Vindhyan chain distinguished by the name of the Kymore range, an extensive spur of which forms the great plateau known by the name of Chôta (properly Chuttia) Nagpore.*

The division of Chôta Nagpore, under its Commissioner, embraces an area little less than that of England; while the district of Chôta Nagpore Proper,† is larger than Wales, by 3,000 square miles, with a population of a million and a half. This is the stronghold of the Kôls; who comprise two distincts aboriginal races, the *Mundaris* and the *Oraons*. They constitute two-thirds of the population; indeed, including the *Larka* and *Bhamij* tribes of Singbhoom and Maunbhoom, not less than one million Kôls in all. Of these, the Mundaris have had by universally accepted tradition a priority of occupation. Their own traditions—and their very name may, to some extent, confirm it—point to the Valley of the Damoodah ‡ as their earlier abode. Their position on the plateau accords with this: the Moondahs are found mainly on the Eastern and Southern portions of the high ground. The Oraons, on the other hand, who settled here at a later period, and were acceptable neighbours, as being more advanced in agriculture and other useful knowledge, have a tradition that their original seat was in the far West; they chiefly occupy the

* This name may be traced to the fact that the Old Rajahs, or Chiefs, had a palace at *Chuttia*, the ruins of which still remain near Ranchi. This *Raj* was therefore called *Chuttia Nagpore*, to distinguish it from the Nagpore of Central India.

† Including the Districts of Chôta Nagpore and Palamow.

‡ “Does not Dah-moondah in their own language mean the water of the Moondah?” Colonel Dalton on the Kôls of Chôta Nagpore. *As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol.*, page 154.

north-west portion of the plateau, which was probably the side from which they ascended.

Such was the race among whom these four devoted Missionaries resolved to make their home, to save them, if possible, from the fatal consequences of gross superstition—to raise them from a deplorable state of ignorance—to bring them eventually under the Divine blessing from darkness to light—from the power of Satan to God.

Their position, as they settled down on that table-land which was to be the field of their future labours and trials was, perhaps, without parallel in the history of Missions. They had come out with no conditions as to remuneration—no stipulated salary, no guarantee even of what we sometimes hear called by Missionaries, when commenting on the smallness of their means, “subsistence allowance.” Not even *that*. Pastor Gossner would send out what funds he could raise; but their main trust lay in their God whom they served, that He would not suffer them to want; friends would rise up; means would be forthcoming, more than enough, to supply their scant wants—enough to enable them to carry on His work, should He deign to accept them, and to bless their efforts to His own honor and glory. Thus, full of faith and hope, did they enter upon their labors.

The spiritual field which spread out before them was not a very encouraging one; scarcely more promising than the hard, barren rocky ground which presented itself to their eyes, with its rocks piled one on another in fantastic forms, its great granite cones rising up on every side, like domes of half buried temples of gigantic size,* or with its massive boulders crossing their

* Colonel Dalton As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol., 1 Vol. for 1866. 158; Capt Depree's Geogr. Rept., page 2.

path as they journeyed up from Calcutta to Ranchi. Yet were there glorious forests of primeval growth, and fertile valleys down the hill sides, ready to repay the laborers' toil ; *—and the Missionaries could look forward in faith and hope that even that seeming barren soil should in time repay their labors, and out of it should rise up many a goodly tree, giving proof that it was of the Lord's planting, and a rich harvest of souls be gathered in, if not by them, by those who should come after them, into the Lord's garner.

They found the Kôl mind free, indeed, from those graver obstacles to conversion—the caste pride of the Hindoo, and the frenzied fanaticism of the Mahometan ; but so sunk in ignorance, so degraded in superstition, and depraved in immorality, that it needed the most fervent faith, the most devoted zeal, on their part to carry them on. Not that these Kôls retained the traces of their ancient serpent-worship in such gross and appalling forms as did their kindred tribes, the Gonds, and the Khonds, and even their nearest neighbours the Santhals. Human sacrifice was unknown. Infanticide was not practised among them. Still they had almost *no religion*, or, at least, not what might be worthy of such a name. They had not a word in their language for “God !” † they had only one word, ‡ which conveyed an idea of a being possessing some of the higher and nobler attributes of divinity ; but their general belief was confined to the existence of

* Captain Depree's Geogl. Rep. page 2. “There are few countries which present more quiet beauty than Chôta Nagpore. During the rainy season and cold weather the purple gneiss rocks contrasting with the green jungle on the near hill-sides, the deep blue of the distant hills, the mango topes with which the country is thickly scattered, the rice cultivation, the bright yellow flowered Sirgooja crops, and the red of the newly turned up soil, form a variety of colour uncommon and striking.”

† Col. Dalton on the Kôls, As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol., Vol., 1866, page 172.

‡ Mr. Jellinghaus' letter to *Friend of India*, May 13th, 1869.

spirits supposed to live in rocks, and rivers, and trees; not half so attractive as the Naiads and Dryads of ancient paganism, or so frolicsome and friendly as the pixies or fairies, still included in the vulgar belief as haunting many a highland or English hillside; but all more or less hostile to man; the causes of worldly loss, or bodily suffering, and disease. These *Bhôts*, as they are called (literally *ghosts*), could be propitiated only by the offering of some animal, a kid, or lamb, or cock. To this the Kôl added an unbounded belief in witchcraft: to kill a witch was held a most praiseworthy act. With such a creed—with such conceptions of deity—what wonder if their moral tone was of the very lowest? What motives had they to restrain them? What to lead them to good? What to lead them to anything but *evil*? Drunkenness was the prevailing condition, specially after nightfall.* Immorality and vice the ordinary rule of life. One feature of their village system—a natural result of their depraved superstition—helped to perpetuate this state of things. “In the
 “midst of every Oraon and Mundari village, generally
 “under some trees, is the AKRA, or *dancing place*: and
 “close by (but only in the Oraon villages) the *Dhumkuria* †
 “or sleeping-house of the boys, and the unmarried men, and
 “not far from this, sometimes in the house of a widow, is
 “the *Dhumkuria* of the girls; neither boys nor girls
 “sleep at home with their parents. All young persons
 “belong for the night to the dancing-place, and to the
 “*Dhumkuria*, or, in plain language, *to the Devil*. Parents
 “attempting to restrain their children from these abominations,

* “The Kôl drinks for the purpose of becoming inebriated. At the festivals
 “which occur at fixed times, the whole of the Kôlarian inhabitants of Chôta Nag-
 “pore are drunk as one man. * * * * The women indulge equally with the
 “men.”—Capt. G. C. Depree’s Geog. Rep. page 16.

† “Bachelors’ Hall,” Colonel Dalton interprets it.

“and to keep them at home, would soon find all their
 “endeavours vain ; as any girl remaining at home is dragged
 “by force to the Dhumkuria ; her parents are mulcted in a
 “fine, which is spent in drinking ; and they receive the cha-
 “racteristic warning, *Burái rokne ko tumko kaun thahráyá ?*
 “Who has appointed you to stop wickedness ?” * This view
 repulsive as it is, of their social life, is presented to the reader
 that he may more fully appreciate the difficulties with which
 these Missionaries had to contend.

It was indeed a dreary prospect that opened before them ;
 could it be wondered at if they doubted and wavered—if they
 even sometimes contemplated the possibility of abandoning
 the post ? Such doubt, if it ever did arise in their minds, was but
 a passing cloud. They *never despaired*. At first a few or-
 phans, rescued from starvation by the Magistrate of the District,
 were entrusted to them. These furnished some occupation ; the

A few orphans entrusted to them. mere teaching them seemed to bring a
 faint ray of light into the Mission-
 house ; these orphans became the nucleus of a school.

There the missionaries might be seen teaching their little
 Their daily work. orphans ; or traversing the country side
 on foot, seeking to find an entrance in
 village after village, from which they were sometimes driven
 out with stones. And at the close of a day of weary, fruitless
 toil, they might be seen again digging in their own little
 garden plots, to raise up a few vegetables for the supply of
 their common table ; or working with hatchet and plane,
 squaring timbers for their dwelling-house, or school ; or with
 their own hands raising the walls, or laying on the roof, of
 their goodly Church. Such was their life : truly one of self
 sacrifice, and devotion to their Divine Master.

* Chôta Nagpore Mission Report for 1863, page 10.

Years passed on, but no signs were vouchsafed that their service was being accepted. At length
 The first enquirers. after five years' of such weary labor, a ray of hope broke in upon them. The incident shall be described in their own words :—" At the commencement of " 1850, four men of the Oraon tribe came to the Mission-house " at Ranchi, and desired to see the Missionary. They said that " they had read in a book* of some one called 'Jesus.' The " word had pleased them, and they wished now to see 'Jesus.' " The Missionaries invited them to attend their evening prayer " meeting, which at that time consisted of themselves and a " few orphans only. At the close of the Service they said " again, 'the word pleases us, but we desire to see Jesus " himself.' No explanation would satisfy them; they repeated " their request to see 'Jesus.' At last they became impatient, " and left the Mission-house, vociferating and abusing the " inexorable Missionaries.

" After a week the same men returned again, attended the " family Service at the Mission-house, and again asked to see " Jesus, saying they could not rest until they had seen Him. " One of the Missionaries then went with them into a room, " shut the door, fell on his knees, and prayed fervently on " their behalf for light to see the truth. Soon they went " away, more quiet than before, and apparently not without a " deep impression of the truth of what they had heard.

" Some time afterwards they again returned, and requested " permission to be present at the English Service, which was " then conducted by the Missionaries. Permission was gladly " given; and at the close of the service they came to the " Mission-house with joy, and said, 'Now we are satisfied, and " only desire to become Christians.'

* This was a *Hindi* version of the New Testament.

“ These were the first converts among the Kôls. After-
 “ ward these men explained that when they saw the ‘ Sahibs’
 “ worshipping ‘ Jesus’ without seeing Him, they believed that
 “ the Missionaries were honestly their friends, and did not
 “ begrudge them the enjoyment of seeing ‘ Jesus’ in person.
 “ The ice was now broken, and year after year the number of
 “ those who inquired for ‘ Jesus’ increased. Before the mutiny
 “ (in 1857) the converts numbered more than 700.”

At the outset there came before the Missionaries the grave
 Hindi adopted as the language of the Mission. question—What should be the recogniz-
 ed language of the Mission? The Kôls
 had no written language; the two leading tribes, Oraons and
 Mundaris, spoke languages so distinct from each other as to
 be barely intelligible the one to the other;* while each of
 the countless minor tribes had a dialect of its own. In fact,
 it was found by the Missionaries that every valley had a
 distinct *patois*. To enable them to converse with all the
 different tribes, they had learnt enough of each of the many
 dialects to be able to make themselves understood among
 all.† But to frame a language, and to frame that into a
 common language which at present had not a sign or a charac-
 ter, and varied in its very sounds, valley from valley, was a
 work which seemed to them to involve an amount of labor of
 which there was no hope of corresponding results. Moreover,
 there was in the Kôl language itself one grave, if not

* “ Between the language of the Oraons and the language of the Moondahs and
 “ their cognates, I can trace no similarity either in pronunciation, formation,
 “ construction, or general character. With pretty copious vocabularies before me,
 “ I can find no analogies, and whilst the language of the Moondahs is soft and
 “ sonorous, that of the Oraons is guttural and harsh.” Col. Dalton on the Kôls,
 “ As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol. Vol, 1866, pages 169-170.

† See Vocabulary of the Kôl languages, by Pastor F. Batsch, As. Soc. Journal,
 Ethnol., Vol. for 1866, page 251. A tract in *Oraon* was printed by them
 in 1850.

insurmountable, defect. The Kôls being themselves without any religion, their language was necessarily wanting in words fitted to convey religious ideas, even that of a *God*. * How could such a language be made the means of teaching the highest and holiest form of religion? While, on the other hand, there was one language which all knew more or less, *Hindi*, the language of the *zemindars*, or landowners—for nearly the whole district, was in the hands of Hindoos, † *Hindi* was the medium of daily communication between the master and his workmen, the *zemindar* and his *ryots*; it was the language of the *Cutchery* ‡ and of the *bazar*; and *Hindi* possessed to a rare extent the qualifications for a language of religion, a *Church Language*. Nor was it forgotten that *Hindi* gave them their first convert. § These were the reasons which led to the adoption of *Hindi* as the language of the Chôta Nagpore Mission.

It is not in its earlier period that we must look for that development which marked the subsequent years of this Mission, though it soon began to assume a visible form, which was daily expanding. Already the Missionaries had erected a

* See above page, Pastor Batsch say, "They have no religious terms," As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol. Vol. for 1866, page 251.

† "The custom of remote ages was, that whoever cleared the land from jungle became the owner rent-free, rendering only in return to the head of the village such services as the common good required. These pioneers were the ancestors of the race called Kôls in the present day. * * The name Kôl means simply a low caste person. * * Rent, however, came gradually to be paid by each village, but the right of property in a village was long recognised as appertaining to the head Moondah. The Moondahs eventually elected a chief, and styled him Rajah, who in time became Hindooised. It was then the object of the Rajah to induce other Hindoos to settle. This could only be done by granting villages, and thus many foreign proprietors were established, who formed a sort of military force, capable of acting against neighbouring Rajas, and of controlling the Kôls. In time this more civilised race obtained possession of nearly the whole of the villages of the country." Captain G. C. Depree's Geog. Rep., pages 6-7.

‡ Court of Justice.

§ See page 11.

goodly Church, of which any Mission or Station might be proud. The foundation stone was laid in 1851, and it was opened for Divine Service in 1855.

During the seven years between the admission of the first
Progress of the Mission arrested by the mutiny. convert and the outbreak of the mutiny, the number of converts had, as already mentioned, somewhat exceeded 700; but the year 1857 arrested the progress of Mission Work at Chôta Nagpore, as in every other part of India. By that great political convulsion all was thrown into disorder. The Kôls, a peaceful body of agriculturalists, would, one might have hoped, have been allowed to remain in peace, undisturbed by the influences which were at work among Mahometans and Hindus. It is more than probable that the heights of Chôta Nagpore would have escaped, but for the presence of the Ramghur Battalion of Native Infantry at Dorunda—the adjoining Military Cantonment. These men were affected like the rest of their *bhai-bunds*. They joined in the general rise. Their Officers and the Civilians of Ranchi barely escaped with their lives. To have stayed at their post, which was the first resolve of some of the Missionaries, would have been to sacrifice not only themselves, but also probably the lives of the great body of their converts; by leaving, while there was yet time, they saved their own lives,—though all their property was sacrificed; and their converts, scattered abroad in their villages, lost in the multitude of their own people, who were not themselves inimical to them as Christians, escaped the slaughter which must have been their fate, had they fallen into the hands of the mutinous sepoys. The Missionaries themselves effected their escape to Calcutta; having traversed the intervening distance almost entirely on foot, mercifully preserved under the double danger of the terrific heat and the violent rains of May and June. And there made new friends for the Mission.

THE PERIOD OF PROGRESS.

CHAPTER II.

WITH the return of the Missionaries at the close of 1857, when order had been restored in the Chôta Nagpore district, commences what may be regarded as a new epoch in the history of the Mission.

The end of October of that year saw the body of Missionaries again at their post, with some change in their original numbers.* Their return was welcomed by their flocks who had been as sheep without a shepherd, and now gathered around their Pastors with renewed affection, having maintained their faith unshaken, through the trials and dangers of the Mutiny. To some among them it had been, indeed, a season of trials and dangers. One instance of the persecution to which they were exposed may be given, as possessing a special interest, the Kôls having retained a permanent memorial of it in the name they gave to one of their villages, by which it has ever since been known. In the vicinity of Ranchi is a village, the population of which had been nearly all converted to Christianity, despite the inimical influence of the *zemindar*, or landholder. So resolutely determined was this arch-enemy of the Missionaries, that the village should not be Christian, that three several times did he,

* Pastor Janké had fallen an early victim to the climate, having died in 1846, within a year of reaching Ranchi. Pastor H. Batsch had joined the Mission in that year; Mr. A. Herzog, a lay Missionary, had arrived in 1850; and Pastor F. Bohn in 1851.

rallying around him the neighbouring heathen, attack the poor Christians at night ; and each time level their frail huts to the ground. During the Mutiny this *zemindar* joined the mutineers. In 1859 he was caught, tried, and hanged ; and the village was thenceforth left in peace ; and has ever since been known by the name of *Prabu Saran* ("Protection of the Lord.")*

It is a remarkable circumstance that, while almost every private house in the station of Ranchi was demolished by the mutineers, the Church and the School-house were but little injured ; only the organ suffered, and that was utterly destroyed. Thus, when the Missionaries returned, though for awhile houseless themselves, they were enabled at once to resume the Church Services, and to re-open the Schools.

Before endeavouring to trace out the wonderful development of this Mission during the next ten years, which may be regarded as the period of its progress and prosperity, though these years brought with them their full measure of trouble and difficulty, it will be well to notice here a great and fundamental change which took place in its constitution in the year 1858.

That true Evangelist, Pastor Gossner, had sent forth these labourers in 1844. For fourteen years he had been spared to watch, though from a distance, yet with not the less affection and anxiety, how sunshine and shadow had passed over the face of that field whereon his devoted countrymen were labouring. He had marked how slowly—how very slowly at first—the seed had seemed to gain any hold in the soil ; how years passed without its giving any signs of life—how, at length, it began to germinate, and then, for a few years, grow with a marvellous growth—how, in the midst of this growth, the

* Special C. N. M. Rep. of 1865, page 7.

flames of rebellion and mutiny had swept over it, threatening to obliterate all traces of their labor—and how yet, out of all this danger, even out of the fires of 1857, the seed sown in faith had sprung up again with renewed strength, and with every promise of a rich harvest. But the heart of the old man began to tremble for the safety of his far-away children in Christ. He was now 85 years of age, and, detecting signs of his approaching end, he was filled with anxiety for their future. His beloved friend, Pastor E. Schatz, who had gone out at the head of the Missionary party in 1844, was then in Berlin. Gossner poured out to him all his fears—the indifference of the Prussian Church to the Mission—the lack of sympathy among his countrymen generally in the work—the only hope he had, and that he had long entertained, that the English Church, on the ground of its Apostolic character, as well as of its paramount position in India, should adopt the little Mission, so soon to be orphaned by his death. He delegated Schatz to proceed to England, carrying with him a letter from himself to the Church Missionary Society, to endeavour to interest them in the cause of the Kôls, and persuade them to take over charge of the Mission. But the wish of Pastor Gossner was not carried out. The Society were not disinclined to comply with the request, but referred the question to their Calcutta Committee. The answer from them (and even more so from the then Missionaries of Ranchi), was not favorable to the arrangement ; and it was abandoned. The feeling was that the Chôta Nagpore Mission had been founded and moulded on a system differing from that which prevailed in the English Missions ; and, in its independence, it might still hope to carry with it a certain amount of German sympathy and support. Whereas, if a large English Society adopted it, it might be necessary to change its constitution, or to modify its system ; and moreover, the new connection might lessen the little

interest in the Mission existing in the Fatherland. However, in proof of their sympathy in the Mission, they, during that year, voted £1,000,* for the Ranchi Missionaries, out of the Special Fund for India which was opened after the Mutiny.

On Schatz's return to Berlin, an earnest appeal was made from Pastor Gossner's dying-bed to his countrymen. A Society was then formed, in its very name perpetuating the memory of the saintly founder, "The Evangelical Mission Society of Berlin, founded by Pastor Gossner," with a Committee, styled a *Curatorium*, on whom should thenceforth lie the duty of supporting and managing his Missions.

In the following year (1859) the system of salaries was introduced, instead of the plan which Salaries introduced, had hitherto prevailed of all the Missionaries being supported out of one common fund at one common board. Each Missionary was to receive a fixed stipend at the following very moderate rates:—

	Rs.		For each child not exceeding three in number.
A married Ordained Missionary	... 70	a month	10
„ Unordained „	... 50	„	8
A single Ordained „	... 50	„	
„ Unordained „	... 40	„	

This rate continued till 1867, when each salary was raised by an addition of Rs. 20 a month.

Thus, as will be seen, a great change was introduced into the working of the Mission. It was designed to give it more stability and permanance; it undoubtedly lost to it much of that very powerful influence, the *personal connection*, between

* Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1858, 1859. p. 13.

This grant was paid in two instalments, in 1858 and in 1860, through the Calcutta Committee of the C. M. Society, to Mr. McLeod Wylie, an influential Barrister of Calcutta, then acting as the Calcutta Treasurer of the Chôta Nagpore Mission, at whose solicitation mainly it had been obtained.

the Founder and the Mission, which will furnish a clue to the unravelling several of the financial and administrative difficulties in which the Mission was subsequently involved.

Pastor Schatz returned to Ranchi in 1859, and remained there till 1861, when he withdrew permanently, and retired to Berlin. From which time the general superintendence and chief control of the Mission devolved on Pastor F. Batsch.

We will now proceed to follow out the history of the Mission during the 10 years from 1857 to 1867.

At the time of the mutiny there were about 700 converts, of whom there is no reason to believe that any fell away. Of the yearly increase during 1858, 1859, and 1860, no exact records appear to have been preserved; at least none are available. We only know that by the end of 1860 this number had doubled.

In 1860, say,	...	...	1,400
In 1861	...	...	Baptized 522
In 1852	...	...	" 809
In 1863	...	...	" 1,296
In 1864	...	...	" 2,100
In 1865	...	...	" 1,994
In 1866	...	...	" 829
In 1867	...	...	" 1,024

In round numbers 10,000; children as well as adults. Figures are, after all, an imperfect, and not always satisfactory index of the spread of Christianity. Its reality must be tested by other marks. A feeling had begun to prevail among the Kôls that it was their *destiny* to become Christians. Enquirers did not now come in by ones and twos, from distant and isolated points: but they began to come in

in families,* in some cases it might almost be said in villages, eagerly applying for baptism.† On one day in November 1864 no less than 600 men, women, and children, presented themselves. This, it will be at once seen, was a feeling to be watched, and, to some extent, guarded against. Every caution had to be taken that the Sacrament of Baptism into the Christian Church, with all that it implied, and all that it conveyed, was not degraded by the admission of men drawn in with very imperfect knowledge, or with false views, or, worse than all, from unworthy motives. It is most interesting to mark how these simple, comparatively unlearned, Missionaries were enabled by God's grace to organize such a system as would enable them to preserve as far as was humanly possible, the purity of the Church : while showing every readiness to receive all who came as Enquirers, they were anxious to admit to baptism only those who gave individual proof of sincerity.

It was physically impossible that this mere handful of Missionaries should traverse so vast a tract of country. The utmost they could hope to do, and that only at long intervals, was to visit the towns, or larger villages, leaving the chief portion of the district preaching to Catechists and Readers, whom they were training for the purpose. When thought

Catechists. competent and worthy to be trusted, these Catechists were sent forth to visit some assigned district, and were required to return to Ranchi to report the results of their tour ; they would then remain

* "In consequence of this spontaneous activity of the Native Church, 625 families broke the fetters of heathenism, and joined our people in the course of the year, and are now, together with many old enquirers, looking forward to be received as candidates for baptism." (Report of Chôta Nagpore Mission for 1863, page 4.)

† There were soon several entirely Christian villages. Special C. N. M. Rep. 1864, page 4.

at head-quarters of the Mission to undergo a further course of training before starting for another tour. Thus were these Catechists constantly traversing the districts in reliefs—a body going out to preach, and their allotted task performed returning back to be still more taught in the faith.*

The rudiments of Christianity were thus being taught, first by the Catechists in their distant villages; after that enquirers would come to Ranchi to be more fully instructed; at least one year of probation was required of every candidate for baptism. Nor was this all. Every village in which there are many Christians, or where only a few in two or three villages together, there was a Resident Elder. These Elders on

every Sunday gathered their little con-
Elders.

gregations together in their houses, or in the village Churches, where such were built, for prayer, reading the Bible, and teaching the catechism. On these men lay the duty of preserving order in their respective villages, and of deciding, as far as possible, all disputes between Christians. They were, in short, the fathers of the little Christian communities. They received no pay or remuneration; their office was only honorary, and they deemed it one of high honor. Now, however well instructed any candidate for baptism might be, he must produce from the Elder of his village a certificate of his sobriety, upright, and pure

* So strong was the affection of the Mission for the Kôls, however scattered abroad, that whenever these *navvies* of the East had migrated for work, in the drains and roads of Calcutta, or the pleasanter Tea Gardens of Assam and Cachar—and they are eagerly sought for there too, as being such admirable workmen, and in the 4 years of 1864—1867 above 12,000 went there for employment—there the Catechists from Ranchi would follow them: and wherever they have gone, they have enlisted much interest and sympathy on the part of the Clergy of the districts. In Debrughur, in Tezpore, and in Calcutta, all were moved in kindly concern towards these “savages,” and have readily aided the Catechists in their efforts to keep those already baptised in the way of righteousness, and to win over others still in heathenism to the knowledge of the Truth.

duct for many months, before he could be admitted to the rite of baptism. But perhaps the jealous watchfulness with which the Missionary strove to guard against the baptism of unworthy men will be best illustrated by an account from the pen of an Indian Chaplain of an administration of baptism which he himself witnessed in Ranchi Church.*

The service of Baptism. The Missionary calls up to the chancel, first, the Elders of those villages out of which the candidates for baptism have come. He then solemnly cautions them in the presence of God, and in face of the congregation, to point out anything in the character of any candidate which would unfit him for baptism. The village Elders then fall back and stand in a row, watching the approach of the candidates, whom the Missionary calls up according to their villages. He then asks them individually, and very solemnly, of their faith, and their motives, and their readiness to give up Satan. The Missionary, indeed, seems to know each one of the candidates personally. Every one of them has been under constant instruction for weeks under his own eye. Still the Missionary looks to the Elder for assent before he proceeds to baptize a single candidate. When fully satisfied as to their knowledge, and receiving no disapproving sign from the village Elder, he takes up his position at the font, calls up the candidates one by one, each by his new and Christian name, and baptizes them in the name of the Triune God, and signs them with the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Such is the system of safeguards—imperfect, as being human, yet seemingly as perfect as human can be—with which those Missionaries surround the Church against the admission of unworthy members. It is impossible but that, in spite of

* *Church Intelligencer*, June 1863, page 6.

all these precautions, unworthy members may be admitted ; but how happy would be the English Clergyman in his parish, or the Indian Chaplain in his Station, could he always feel that in the baptism of an adult he had a full reason to be satisfied of the spiritual fitness of his candidate.

The baptism of every adult is always regarded as only a Preparation for Holy Communion. stepping-stone to Holy Communion.

The converts are taught that they are not in full Church-membership till they have become Communicants. As a preparatory to the reception of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper they are all required to pass through a season of further teaching. For the convenience of these catechumens, and also for the communicants who come up for the monthly communion, a *serai*, or resting-house, has been erected on the Mission premises. Here they have mats and firewood supplied to them, and are only required to provide their own food. Sometimes, as many as 600 had been collected together on these occasions. The gathering is especially large in the month of February, at

Harvest Home.

the great annual festival of the "Harvest Home," when there are special services of thanksgiving, and also a General Meeting, or Conference, of Church Members, for the discussion of all questions connected with the Mission.

The Holy Communion is administered regularly every month, on the Sunday *next after the full moon*, for the convenience of the

Holy Communion on first Sunday after full moon.

Christians who have to come, nearly all on foot, many of them from great distances, some 60, 80, and even 100 miles. One family, living 85 miles from Ranchi, have *never* missed the monthly Communion.*

* Special C. N. M. Rep. of 1865, page 6.

A glimpse at a Sunday Service will not be unwelcome here :—

“The lively ringing of Church bells, with tones familiar to those who have been in foreign towns, gathered a punctual congregation of some six hundred persons within the substantial and ecclesiastical-looking building, which is seen to rise up in the landscape for miles around. The first thought, on a survey of the interior, was that many towns in Germany, or in England, have worse parish churches than this. The proportions of the building seemed correct, and there was nothing like makeshifts throughout. The men seated themselves in the open sittings on one side of the church ; the women glided into those on the other side, and the school children, some 70 or 80 in number, ranged themselves in a gallery in front of a harmonium. While wondering at the orderly crowd, you are surprised to see a native organist commence his voluntary, as the black-robed officiating minister comes out of the vestry, and mounts the steps which lead up into the ample chancel. You are at once struck with the taste and skill of the musical performance. At the minister’s announcement of a hymn, a familiar tune strikes up ; in which presently the children above, and the people below, heartily join.

“The Elders of the church proceed to move about the nave and aisles for the collection of an offertory, to which every one contributes every Sunday, and which is set apart for the Temple Service, and for the erection of village chapels. As the little baskets of copper money were placed on the Communion Table, the thought was irresistible, surely, he who noted the widow’s mite would count these pieces. Each one of them stood for the fourth part of a man’s, and the half of a woman’s daily earnings in the district. Next

"there is prayer, and then the minister stands up to read
 "portions of Scripture, recognized as those appointed for the
 "Epistle and Gospel of the day in our Church of England.
 "After the alternate verses of a Psalm have been read by
 "the minister and the people, he ascends the pulpit. As
 "you look round the congregation, you are a little ashamed
 "of your inattention, for you find yourself to be the only one
 "with wandering eyes. There is a quiet expression of ready
 "watchfulness and self-possession in the countenances. As
 "the animated preacher goes on, those who feel sleepy keep
 "rising from their seats, and stand until they have recovered
 "sufficient wakefulness to listen on to the close. Some of
 "the Elders move quietly about the Church to preserve order
 "in the congregation, and also among the heathen strangers,
 "who are generally seated near the door, and who occasionally
 "call forth the preacher's rebuke. Such may even be
 "peremptorily told by him, in the middle of his sermon, to
 "leave the Church. Now and then the office-bearers are
 "concerned with the mothers of noisy infants, or they are
 "quietly reminding by a touch a drowsy brother, that he
 "should not lose the good words spoken. No wonder they
 "are tired ; some have come 40 and 50 miles during the
 "previous 24 hours ; and they will have to walk home next
 "morning ! Such earnestness would be disappointed if the
 "preacher did not fill up his full hour. His uplifted arms
 "at last announce the delivery of the blessing, which is received
 "with lowly bended heads. And the people remain thus in
 "private devotion, while the minister descends from the pulpit,
 "unrobes in the vestry, and comes out before the chancel
 "steps, and gives the salutation, with which all Christians
 "address one another here—'Isá sahá,i.' The whole
 "congregation then rises, and quickly disperses. But first
 "those in the front seats, who are evidently the Elders, and

“the oldest converts, press forward to the Missionary to take his hands before they retire, disappointed should he quit the Church without first according to them that honor. And amongst the many thoughts which rise up in the visitor’s heart—full of faith in the reality of the scene—is the earnest wish that every congregation in India were the same as this one. Sobered by it all, the visitor longs to see more of the work, and of the way in which it is done.”*

Bishop Cotton visited Ranchi, and attended the service of the Mission Church on Sunday, April 23rd, 1864.† He was especially impressed by the Baptismal Service, at which 143, adults and children, were received into the church; the Te Deum being chanted in Hindi at the west end, while the Service was being performed at the chancel. As he drove away from the church, Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner, broke a long silence by asking him what he thought of the service. The Bishop did not answer for a few seconds, and then with quivering lip said “*Sublime!*”—“the only word to describe it.” They who knew the undemonstrativeness of Bishop Cotton’s manner will appreciate the value of such testimony to the simple, solemn beauty of that service.

The change which the profession of Christianity has produced upon the Kôls is most remarkable. Words would fail to describe what can only be fully appreciated by being seen. The Kôl in his heathen state presents a picture of combined tawdriness and filth; long-matted hair which no comb could penetrate, twisted up here and there into knots, through which pieces of carved wood, bone, or

In dress.

* *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, June 1863, page 168.

† An account of which, believed to be from his own pen, will be found in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer* for June 1864, pages 209-210.

ivory are stuck ; his neck laden with two or three chains of beads, or strings of charms, and talismans of gold, brass or stone. He no sooner becomes a Christian, or indeed approaches the Missionary as an enquirer, then all this disappears ; his hair is cut short, and neat and clean ; his neck and arms are bare of ornaments. This is especially perceptible among the women. In the mixed crowd of the bazar every Christian man and woman proclaims by the utter absence of all these charms and talismans, of necklace, and bangles, and rings, that the foul superstitions of heathenism have given way to the purer faith of the Gospel.*

But in nothing perhaps has the change effected by Christianity on the minds of the Kôls been more perceptible than in the matter of schools. In their heathen condition, ignorant and depraved, they are wholly incapable of understanding how education can be of any use to them ; nor, indeed, have parents sufficient authority over their children to enforce attendance at school, had they the inclination. Moreover, the parents are only too thankful to secure, as early as possible, the little addition which the labor of each child brings into the domestic store. The ordinary pay of a man is five pice, about twopence, a day, while that of a woman is barely half as much. Every additional pice, therefore, which each child can earn, or the small addition which even the tiny hands can make by picking up the leaves, or plucking up the roots, which constitute

* "The young Oraons of both sexes are intensely fond of decorating their persons with beads and brass ornaments. These they entirely discard on embracing Christianity, and converts may be always recognised by the total absence of all such adornment. The converts do not join in the dances, or festivals, and must not even be seen as spectators, when they are going on. They appear indeed to lose all relish for their old amusements, and shrink with horror at the idea of resuming their discarded ornaments." Col. Dalton on the Kôls, As. Soc. Journal, Ethnol. vol. of 1866, pages 197-198.

the ordinary food of the poorest among them,* is really valuable for supplying the family wants. With so few motives, then, for sending their children to school, and so many inducements to keep them away, one can well understand with what sorrow the Missionaries would give expression to the painful result of their experience, when they wrote :—"Should
 " we be guided, in establishing schools amongst the Kôls, by
 " the desire we find amongst them for education, we should
 " feel compelled, not only to discontinue increasing them,
 " but also to close all schools established already, and to send
 " away all the lads of the training class, because the Kôls
 " do not evince the least interest in knowledge and instruc-
 " tion. But we know that the thirst for knowledge will come ;
 " and therefore education must be brought before them again
 " and again, till they accept it with joy. "

But their hopes have been realized. They have seen to their comfort the working of the leaven of Christianity on the mind of the Kôls, in the *desire* for schools in the Christian villages, when once the attempt to establish them had been made. In 1864, they had succeeded in establishing eleven : but the demand was for *more*. "*The converts were anxious to have a school in every village : they were ready to build and maintain the school-house, with a house for the teacher, and to pay half his salary.*" † It was therefore resolved that, provided they could supply competent teachers in sufficient number they would open a school in every village which contained twenty Christian families.

This leads to the mention of another of the effects of Christianity on this race—their readiness
 Their liberality. at all times to give even of their pittance
 for the Services of the Church. The monthly Offertory, with

* C. N. M. Rep. for 1865, page 13 ; Capt. Depree's Geogr. Rep. page 5, para. 21.

† C. N. M. Rep. for 1864.

its little baskets of pice gathered from the congregation, the thankoffering, however small, sometimes only one pice, made by each convert at his baptism,—these are public offerings into the treasury of God. But we must follow them to their homes, their villages, to see how liberally they there give of their substance for the advance of the Gospel. Not only do they build their own village-schools, and pay half the teachers' salaries (Government paying the other half)—there are instances of still more marked readiness to give : “The Elder
 “of the village of Barkoli, though holding only two acres of
 “land, has built a chapel, which also serves as a school, and
 “also undertakes to provide at his own expense for the school-
 “master and his family for three years. At Kachabari, too,
 “the Elder has provided for the teacher during the whole year,
 “and is now building a dwelling-house for him.

“At Itki, where the school-master, till the opening of the
 “church, had much to complain of, the children now come
 “regularly to school, and the parents, though very poor and
 “much oppressed, have willingly paid all that is necessary for
 “his support. The value of the school-houses, &c., built by
 “the villages last year is, about Rs. 250, and the support given
 “to the teachers has amounted to something above Rs. 200.”*

At Itki, too, of the Rs. 2,300 which the Church, school-house, and dwelling for the Catechist, cost in the preceding year, *above half had been contributed by the Native Church.*†

Many a much older Mission of the Church of England in India might take example from these poor Kôls.

The first attempt to establish a Cranch Mission had been
 made in 1853, when the Rev. H. Batsch
 Branch Missions. settled at Hazareebaugh. This is rather
 among the Santhals than the Kôls : still it has always been a

* C. N. M. Rep. for 1864, pages 10-11.

† C. N. M. Rep. for 1863, page 12.

part of the general Chôta Nagpore Mission. Hazareebaugh, like Ranchi, was abandoned during the Mutiny ; and on the return of the Missionaries, it was found desirable to concentrate their strength at Ranchi, it being the head-quarters of the Kôl race, and to leave Hazareebaugh, to be visited from time to time by a Missionary in his itinerating tour. It was not fully resumed again till 1862, when the Rev. H. Batsch returned to it, accompanied by Mr. Onasch, who had recently joined the Mission.

In the next year, (1863,) a branch Mission was opened at Purulia, in the district of Maunbhoom. From the first there had been a great desire on the part of the Missionaries to take up a Mission here ; but from want of funds they had been compelled to wait from year to year. However, the opportunity for carrying out this long-cherished wish at length arrived. A legacy from Frederick William IV., King of Prussia, who had entertained a deep personal regard for Gossner, supplied them with the means ; they purchased a house, transferred Mr. Onasch from Hazareebaugh, placed under him Mr. Didlaukies, a recent arrival from Berlin, and opened the Mission under the name of *Frederick Wilhelms-pur*, in memory of the donor.

Chyabassa, too, in Singhboom, the land of the Larka Kôls, had been long marked out as a desirable station for a resident ordained Missionary. In the end of 1864 a house was obtained, and a Mission formed there.

Branch Missions had also at different times been opened at Lohardugga, Govindpore, and Domba ; but were abandoned from want of funds.

The allusion to Funds brings before us the darker side of

The financial condition of the Mission.	this hitherto bright picture. At the transfer of the Mission from the per- sonal care of Pastor Gossner to the management, under the
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Curatorium, of the newly-formed Society, that chain of sympathy, which connected the good Pastor in Berlin and the Missionary Pastors in India, had been necessarily broken. Of old it had been a *point of love* with the one that *his* Missionaries should not want, if he could help it; and with the others (the Missionaries themselves), that they would endure, and labour on without a murmur, even though they might not know whence to-morrow's bread might come for themselves or their orphans, rather than press him for means,

Change in the position of the Missionaries. the absence of which was to them sufficient proof that he lacked the power

to help them; but with Gossner's death all this had ceased. Under the new system of 1858, this feeling had naturally disappeared. The connection between the Mission and the Berlin Committee had assumed more of a business character. The salaries were guaranteed; the Committee were pledged to pay their Missionaries, and to supplement, where necessary, the funds that might be raised in India for the support of the Mission, and its working. Still not only, as it has been mentioned, had many new fields of labour been entered on, only to be abandoned for lack of funds, but the Missionaries themselves were at times reduced to great straits. Friends, indeed rose up, on one side or another, in India. It was not only an interest in the Mission, but perhaps more an admiration of the self-denying zeal of the Missionaries, which called forth ready help in the neighbouring stations; and one shallow after another was tided over. Still it soon became too evident that the old feeling no longer existed between the Mission and the Berlin Committee, which had bound together Pastor Gossner and Pastor F. Batsch with his fellow-laborers.

So early as 1861, dissensions commenced. The Berlin Committee have in the Gangetic Valley, other Missions entirely independent of

The crisis of 1861.

of this one. At the head of them in that year was Pastor Sternberg. The Berlin Committee desired to unite the several Missions, and to make Pastor Sternberg the head of all ; thus superseding Pastor F. Batsch, who had been one of the original founders of the Mission to the Kôls, and who had labored devotedly among them for sixteen years. The Ranchi Missionaries in a body protested against this ; in consequence of which the Berlin Committee requested them *to quit the Mission*,* intending to appoint other Missionaries in their stead.

The misunderstanding was, however, removed, and the Missionaries remained undisturbed. Still the feeling could not be overcome that there existed, and was year by year increas-

The crisis of 1864. ing, a sad lack of sympathy between Berlin and Ranchi. This went on manifesting itself in various ways, until, in the year 1864, there came a crisis.

The salaries of the Missionaries, so small as barely to suffice for the necessities of life, had fallen five months into arrears, † from the failure of remittances from Berlin ; and the Mission was altogether in sore straits. It was during this year (in April 1864) that Bishop Cotton visited Ranchi. On learning the serious difficulties to which the Missionaries were reduced, he felt constrained himself to address the Berlin Committee. He expressed himself very strongly, in all the warmth of an earnest mind, sympathizing in the noble work which under so great difficulties was being effect-

Bishop Cotton pleads for them. ed by the Mission. "It is quiet clear" (he wrote, May 4th, 1864), that "the

* Letter from Rev. F. Batsch to Mr. Schröder, Calcutta Auxiliary Committee's Report 1868, Appendix A. page 1.

† Chôta Nagpore Special Report, dated March, 1865. page 8.

“ Word of God has gone forth among the hill tribes of Chôta
 “ Nagpore, and many are pressing into the kingdom of God.
 “ But the Missionaries for lack of funds cannot carry on the
 “ work. *Their own salaries should be secured* on such a sure
 “ tenure, that their minds may be free from anxiety.” * The
 Bishop, moreover, urged that if the Berlin Committee could
 not send speedy and liberal help, both in men and money,
 to carry on the work they had inherited from Pastor Gossner
 “ —if (he says) the connection between Prussia and India is
 “ too weak, or the multiplicity of calls on Prussian bene-
 “ volence too great, to enable you thus to secure the posi-
 “ tion, and extend the usefulness of your Missionaries, then
 “ I venture to suggest the renewal of Pastor Gossner’s wish,
 “ that his work should be carried on by the Church Mission-
 “ ary Society in communion with the Church of England.” †

So urgent an appeal to the Berlin Committee, from such
 a quarter, should have carried some weight ; but we do not
 know the result, beyond the fact that they did not act upon
 the Bishop’s closing suggestion. But the step which gave, it
 must be said, the most security to the Missionaries against the
 recurrence of such a state of difficulty, was one taken, not by

Formation of the Cal-
 cutta Auxiliary Commit-
 tee.

the Berlin *Curatorium*, but in India,—
 the formation of a Committee of sym-
 pathising friends in Calcutta, which
 comprised Germans and Englishmen, Civilians, Military-
 men, and Merchants, who worked with such right good-
 will, and so effectively, that in the first year of the exis-
 tence of the *Calcutta Auxiliary Committee*, they sent to
 Ranchi Rs. 3,000 towards the training school the Mission-
 aries were desirous of building, and in the following year
 (1865,) they collected above Rs. 11,000 for the Mission.

* Unpublished Diocesan Records.

† Ibid.

This allusion to the neglect of the Berlin Committee to provide for the Mission (made with unfeigned regret) is necessary to explain the causes which led to the great pecuniary crisis of 1864, and to the measures adopted in Calcutta to prevent its recurrence, and to account for many of the subsequent events.

In following out the history of the Mission, we have not interrupted the narrative to notice any changes in the staff of Missionaries. Changes in the Mission. But there had been great changes between the year 1845 and 1867. Of the original four, Pastor Schatz had returned to Germany in 1861, as already noticed. Pastor Janké had fallen at his post in 1846; Pastor Brandt, after twenty years of devoted work, had left Ranchi in broken health, in the vain hope that a visit to his native land would restore him. He sank, on boardship on his passage home, a month after sailing, and died on the 17th June 1864. Only Pastor F. Batsch remained of those who had come out in 1844.

Pastor H. Batsch's arrival has been mentioned in 1836, as Mr. H. Batsch and Mr. Herzog. also Pastor Bohn's in 1851. Mr. Herzog, who joined the Mission in 1850, deserves here more than a passing notice, for he has been throughout the stay of the Mission in secular matters. To his architectural knowledge, and indefatigable superintendence, the Mission is indebted for its strikingly beautiful Church at Ranchi. On his hands also have been all the building expenses, and the whole provisioning for the schools, and the accounts of the Mission in all the stations; and it must not be omitted that with him also has mainly lain the charge of the Hospital, and the dispensing of medicine to the hundreds of sick, heathen as well as Christian, who come from far and near to the Mission to have their ailments cured.

Between 1851 and 1860, not a single Missionary seems to

have been added to their number. In 1861, Pastors Onasch and Flex ;* in 1864, F. Kruger and D. Didlaukies ; in the following year Pastor Struwe, who suffered his zeal to carry him into a reckless defiance of the climate, and died of cholera the next year, having only a few weeks before been raised up from a very severe attack of jungle-fever, the result of exposure during a self-imposed itinerating tour. In 1865, Mr. J. Pohlenz arrived ; in 1866 Mr. Jellinghaus ; and in 1867, Messrs. C. Haberlin and A. Nottrott. As nearly all these names will occur in the later pages of this narrative, it was thought desirable that the order of their arrival should be given.

The state of the Mission is thus describes by Colonel Dalton, Colonel Dalton's opinion of the Mission. who looks at it from a secular, *i.e.*, *non-missionary*, but truly Christian, point of view. "As Christianity is rapidly spreading among them (the Kôls), and in all probability will continue to spread more and more rapidly year by year, it is quite possible that in the course of a few generations the most marked characteristics of the races I am describing will have been effaced for ever. It is marvellous with what firmness old prejudices are abandoned, old customs are discarded, and even types changed, when they become Christians ; and there is now a wide-spread feeling among the Kôls themselves that this change will inevitably come upon them all."†

Another Military Officer, in Civil employ in the division of Chôta Nagpore, draws the following touching picture of the *outer* Sunday life of the Mission, which we gladly reproduce :

"A stranger entering the Mission compound on a bright Sunday morning, and watching the large congregation of

* Mr. Flex left the Mission in 1864, and became Assistant in a Tea Garden.

† Asiatic Soc. Journal., Ethnol., vol. for 1866, page 198.

“ hundreds of neatly-dressed Kôl Christians, walking down the
 “ shady avenue, and pouring into their grand Gothic Church, and
 “ then listening to them, as, in one burst of harmonious sound,
 “ they pour out their voices in praise to their Maker, would
 “ with difficulty realise that these were the same voices which
 “ lately were employed in the shrill discord of pagan revelries,
 “ and that but twenty-four years ago the name of Christ was so
 “ unknown among the Kôls. And, were the same stranger to
 “ have gone inside the Church, he could but have looked with
 “ feelings of reverence on the Pastor, who, ascending the pulpit,
 “ addresses in such earnest tones that sea of uplifted faces,
 “ when he was told that it was Mr. F. Batsch through whose
 “ instrumentality God has been pleased to permit so much to
 “ be accomplished.”*

Such is the testimony of *lay* lookers-on. Now, let us hear what a Missionary himself says.

Such questions as the following are very often asked
 A Missionary's view of the Mission. of Missionaries—and earnest Missionaries more often ask themselves—What is the *inner* life of the Mission? Are these men, who have been baptized, all sincere converts? Are the great body of Native Christians striving to walk worthy of their high calling? The true answer, the best that can be expected, may be found in the description given of the Mission in 1865, which was doubtless as true in 1867:—

“ We must not be unjust towards the Native Christians.
 “ We are all very prone to judge them severely, not consider-
 “ ing the ignorance and depravity out of which they have so
 “ recently emerged; leniently forgetting that we ourselves have
 “ been in the abundance of grace and light for many genera-
 “ tions. We certainly have amongst our people some who
 “ have not the knowledge of God, who are drunkards, liars,

* Ranchi pamphlet, page 6.

“ thieves, and impure persons ; who, living in open sin, are not
 “ ashamed of their evil courses, and who, though excluded years
 “ ago, have evinced no desire to repent, and turn again to the
 “ truth. May the Lord have mercy on them, and spare them
 “ yet this year for repentance ! Then we have many weak
 “ souls who require to be drawn, and to be stirred up again
 “ and again, and to be tended as sick plants, that they may
 “ not die, but live.

“ Of many we can say, without fear, and vain glory, that
 “ they run well, and are ornaments of the Church of Christ ;
 “ who, indeed, have not already attained to the fullness of
 “ Christ, but who press forward toward the mark for the
 “ prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. They
 “ have been able to stand in this dark heathen land as wit-
 “ nesses of Christ against idolatry and devil-worship ; and,
 “ as so many messengers of the Lord, they year by year
 “ bring hundreds through their word and prayers out of hea-
 “ thenism and demon-service to the worship of the Lord ; they
 “ have gone through much evil report, through very severe per-
 “ secution, and are oppressed and evil-spoken of ; many have
 “ lost their earthly all, and have been driven from the villages,
 “ where they had been well to do, as farmers, or proprietors ;
 “ they have now to work for their daily bread as common
 “ laborers ; nevertheless, they have all remained firm, their
 “ faith appearing to grow with their sufferings. Any one of
 “ them could any day return to his *caste* and old connections ;
 “ but up to this time we have lost only three families thus ;
 “ and those ought never to have been baptized.”*

It is a pleasing picture, with which to wind up the narra-
 tive to the close of this period. At the end of 1867, peace
 and harmony, and good-will, seemed to pervade the Mission
 far and wide.

* Report of Chôta Nagpore Mission for 1865, pages 6 and 7.

THE RUPTURE.

CHAPTER III.

THE year 1868 will ever be marked in the history of the Chôta Nagpore Mission as a year of sad memories.

The preceding year had closed in seeming peace. But a storm was gathering, which was in a few months to burst on this hitherto happy Mission.

Threatenings of a storm.

Wonderful as the progress of the Mission had been, in nothing had it been more remarkable than in the class of men whom God had chosen to be its founders. They are taunted as being *unlearned* men ; unlearned they were as lacking a high order of literary knowledge : yet had their self-devotion and zeal been so blessed of God as to more than supply any such deficiencies of education. They had been not the less—who shall not say *all the more* ?—effective pioneers of the Gospel among the ignorant Kôls. But they never failed to acknowledge their own defects of education. Indeed, they became more and more conscious of them as their Native Church grew around them. Frequently did they apply to the Berlin Committee,* especially when, in 1865, they saw the walls of their Training School for teachers

The necessity for learned men in the Mission.

approaching completion, and begged that their hands might be strengthened by the accession of men better taught, and more capable of teaching, who should be able, under their superintendence, to train Native Pastors, and to take a more active part in the general educational work of the Mission.

* Report of Deputation of Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, page 2.

Some of the more recent additions to their staff had been of this class ; and in the end of 1867 two more young students of a German University, Messrs. Hoeberlin and Nottrott, were added to their number.

But though a recognised necessity, neither the Missionaries themselves, nor the friends of the Mission, shut their eyes to the risk which it involved, unless the young men should be most judiciously chosen for meekness and amiability, as well as for learning. They were “not without apprehensions of possible collisions between young men who had enjoyed the benefits of a University Education, and the older Missionaries with whom they would have to associate, and who had not received such an education.”* And their worst apprehensions were more than realised, when they found the new arrivals not only wanting in those gentler graces, so necessary for the preservation of peace and harmony, but evidently deeply imbued with “the feeling of mistrust which they brought out with them from Berlin, where, there was reason to believe, Mr. F. Batsch was not regarded with that confidence which, apart from all other considerations, ought to have been accorded to him as the head of the Mission.”†

The risks attending it.

The young Missionaries arrive.

* C. A. C. Report, page 2.

† Ibid. “Apart from the jealousy of the theologian against the non-theologian, I seek one of the causes of these dissensions in the Berlin people. They ought, all along, to have shown more confidence in Mr. Batsch, especially after they had appointed him senior of the Mission.

“If they had done so, the new Missionaries would have shared this confidence, and would have come out to India to join a work that had already its head and leader, and under, and with, whom they were fully prepared and content to labour in the same cause. They would not then have come out with the notion that they would have to reform and re-organise, even before they had gained that insight, and that experience, which can only be acquired through practical knowledge.”—Extract from letter from Mr. J. Schröder to Dr. Brandis, dated 6th July 1868. C. A. C. Appendix, pages 4 and 5.

Moreover, these young men felt the strength of their position in being some of them relatives of members of the Berlin *Curatorium*.*

At first, it would appear, the course adopted by them was that rather of passive, than of active, opposition. But there was, as was afterwards disclosed, a secret communication passing between them and the Berlin *Curatorium*. First insinua-

Charges made against the elder missionaries. tions, then positive though vague charges were made against the elder brethren.†

Mr. Jellinghaus, who had been working for three or four years in seeming harmony and mutual confidence with them, Mr. Hœberlin and Mr. Nottrott, who had arrived in the Mission only a few weeks, sent home statements reflecting most seriously upon the elder brethren, especially Pastor F. Batsch and Mr. Herzog; the latter was "accused of malversation, "and the former of conniving at it, and of neglecting the "Mission work, while they engaged in secular business for "their own benefit."‡ These "charges," for they were nothing less, moved the Berlin Committee to institute an enquiry, and to introduce what is variously called a new "Organization," "Constitution," or "Statute."§ For this double duty the Berlin Committee most unfortunately deputed a Mr. H. Ansorge, at that time their Secretary, and sent him to Chôta Nagpore "as their Commissioner." || A more unwise selec-

Mr. Ansorge's arrival. tion, for the future peace of the Mission, it had been scarcely possible to make.

Mr. Ansorge speaks of himself as "*the old and experienced*

* Ranchi Pamphlet, page 8.

† Ibid.

‡ C. A. C. Report, page 4.

§ C. A. C. Report, page 2.

|| C. A. C. Report, Appendix page vi. Extract from letter from Mr. Ansorge to Mr. Schröder (9th October).

Missionary."* Now what was his claim to that title? And what his qualifications for that most important yet delicate investigation? He had originally joined the Chôta Nagpore Mission as a lay-helper in 1846, but had left it within four months,† in consequence of being ordered to take up an out-station. He then applied to the Church Missionary Society for employment, and was accepted by them as a probationer, pending "further correspondence with home."‡ From that time he remained in connection with that Society as School-master in the Kishnagur District till 1855, when he returned to Germany on account of ill-health.§ There does seem, then, a little want of modesty and Christian humility in setting himself up as the "old and experienced Missionary" against one who had laboured, under God, founding and building up the Kôl Church, during a period of twenty-three years, remaining true to a work which *he* had abandoned after a few months.

He had not even left Calcutta without betraying the *animus* Mr. Ansorge's course of which prompted his every action. He conduct in Calcutta. was there met by true friends of the Mission—by men who had shown the reality and depth of their interest in it by their own liberality, and the active influence they had exercised in its behalf; they had formed the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee to rescue the Mission from its impending ruin in 1864, and had largely supported it ever since, and at this very time had advanced a large sum to save the

* C. A. C. Report, Appendix VII. Letter from Mr. Ansorge to Mr. Schröder Oct. 19, 1868.

† C. A. C. Report, page 3.

‡ Report of Calcutta Committee of Church Missionary Society for 1847.

§ Report of Calcutta Church Missionary Society for 1825.

Missionaries from want, in consequence of the Berlin remittances having again fallen short. *

Their own words shall describe the impression Mr. Ansorge made on them :—“It would not have been too much to expect “from Pastor Ansorge, considering the character and position “of the men into whose conduct he intended to enquire, that “he should have suspended his judgment until he had an “opportunity of asking them for an explanation ; but, on the “contrary, he appears to have made up his mind, before he “arrived in Ranchi, that the elder Missionaries were wrong.

“We understood from the Berlin Auxiliary Committee that “Mr. Ansorge had been requested to avail himself of the “advice of the friends of the Mission in India, as represented “by the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, and we accordingly “placed at his disposal all the information we possessed, “showing him, among others, the copy of a letter expressing “admiration of, and confidence in, the elder Missionaries, written by Dr. Brandis, an old and tried friend of the Mission— “all which, however, did not appear to have the slightest “effect on the judgment already formed by Mr. Ansorge.

“When Mr. Schröder spoke to him in Calcutta, reminding “him that his position was very much that of a judge, and “that the removal of the unhappy differences between the “younger and elder Missionaries, and, humanly speaking, the “future of the Mission, would very much depend upon the “course of action he should follow, entreating him at the “same time not to go to Ranchi with preconceived opinions ; “he replied that he could not remove from his mind the “impression that the elder Missionaries were to blame.

* C. A. C. Rep., Appendix page viii : “I am distressed to see that, by the end “of October, you were again in advance Rs. 900. As a matter of course, this and “other advances will be repaid by the Berlin Committee.” (Extract from a letter from Mr. Ansorge to Mr. Schröder dated 19th October 1868.)

“ Again, at the meeting of the Auxiliary Committee, which
 “ Pastor Ansorge attended, before he left for Ranchi, he
 “ expressed himself in such a way about Messrs. Batsch and
 “ Herzog as to leave the impression upon the minds of those
 “ present that he was strongly prejudiced against them.

“ This will further appear from Mr. Ansorge’s own letters,
 “ *which are all indicative of his strong bias against the*
 “ *elder Missionaries, while showing that he spared no pains*
 “ *in endeavouring, long before the conference assembled, to*
 “ *excite mistrust and apprehension in others who had*
 “ *not the opportunity of ascertaining the real state of*
 “ *affairs.*” *

On arriving at Ranchi, Mr. Ansorge began moving about
 among the residents, endeavouring to
 On arriving at Ranchi. poison their minds against the elder
 Missionaries. † The intense and persistent dislike enter-
 tained by Mr. Ansorge towards the elder brethren, especially

* C. A. C. Report, page 3.

† One instance will suffice of the manner in which he tried to do this, and it will shew in the very words of the parties concerned to what an extent statements made in private conversation were misrepresented and perverted.

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Ansorge to Mr. J. Schröder, 9th October 1868 :—

“ *I have paid a visit to Colonel Davies,*
 “ *and found in him a true friend of the*
 “ *Mission, and a true child of God. He*
 “ *complains that the elder Missionaries*
 “ *should mix themselves up so much with*
 “ *worldly affairs.*”

Extracts of a letter from Colonel Davies, to Dr. Brandis, 1st November 1868, App. page 14.

“ The remark that I regretted that
 “ the elder Missionaries devote them-
 “ selves too much to worldly business is
 “ not strictly true. Pastor Ansorge
 “ asked what I thought about the farm-
 “ ing of certain lands. I replied that
 “ I always looked upon it as a source
 “ of considerable profit to the Mis-
 “ sion, and as Mr. Herzog’s duties were
 “ purely of a lay nature, there appears
 “ ed no harm in his taking such leases:
 “ but that if, as Pastor Ansorge re-
 “ presented, no profit arose from these
 “ farms, it was useless to retain them.”

Mr. F. Batsch, his former chief in this Mission, and Mr. Herzog, betrayed itself in every letter he wrote, and every visit he paid. †

“He says that the station at Hazareebaugh is useless; the two Missionaries had nothing to do, and led an easy life.”

Again he says :— *“I see that Colonel Dalton is the only friend of the elder Missionaries. The pious Colonel Davies does not say ‘Amen’ to the actions of the elder brethren.”*

“With reference to Hazareebaugh, I told him what I had frequently said to Mr. F. Batsch, that with so much work here, I thought it a waste of power to keep two men at Hazareebaugh; and I recommended the transfer of one of the Missionaries to this station. That ‘they had nothing to do, and led an easy life’ was no expression of mine.”

“To say that Colonel Dalton is the only friend of the older Missionaries, is contrary to fact; they have, I am happy to say, still many friends left and I am proud to enrol myself among the number. Pastor Ansonge would ignore the work of these good men, which has been so abundantly blessed: but their devotion and self-denial are too well known to all their old friends, and to the Searcher of all hearts to admit of its being lost sight of.”

* Extract of a letter from Mr. Ansonge to Mr. J. Schröder C. A. C. Report, Appendix page viii :— *“I shall never, out of love to Batsch, call his crooked way straight.”*

Extract of letter from Colonel Dalton to Dr. Brandis describing an interview with Mr. Ansonge :— *“I asked to whom the credit was due for the successful working of the Mission during the last ten years. Mr. Ansonge in a loud voice repeated two or three times ‘not to Mr. Batsch,’ and then added ‘it is due to God only.’ ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘but God works thro’ human agency, and Mr. Batsch was the chief agent.’ Again he went off, ‘Not Mr. Batsch’— ‘not Mr. Batsch,’ as if he loathed the man.”* Ibid, Appendix, page xii.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Davies to Dr. Brandis, Appendix, page xv :—

*“Pastor Ansonge spoke bitterly against the older missionaries.” * * * * **
“I had hoped great things from the advent of Pastor Ansonge, but my first interview with him quite undeceived me, and I found that he was not the

The Berlin Committee had expressed a wish that if possible some members of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee should assist Mr. Ansorge in his investigations at Ranchi. It was arranged that Dr. Brandis, and Mr. J. Schröder, who had taken the deepest interest in the Mission, should act as *assessors* to Mr. Ansorge. Dr. Brandis being prevented attending, Mr. W. Atkinson, another active member of the Committee, agreed to accompany Mr. Schröder. The day was fixed: but *some days before*. * Mr. Ansorge convened the Conference, and as a preliminary, demanded that all the "Missionaries should sign the new constitution which he "was instructed to introduce. This the elder Missionaries "declined to do, until they had been made acquainted with "the charges brought against them. Pastor Ansorge refused "to take up these, until they had given their signatures "to the Constitution; and consequently the Conference came "to an end on that day. He subsequently, however, expressed his willingness to have the charges gone into, and "accordingly, two days after, on the 18th November, on the "arrival of Messrs. Schröder and Atkinson, the Conference "reassembled. Up to this time the elder Missionaries had not "been able to obtain particulars of the charges. Pastor "Ansorge excusing himself from giving them by saying that "no charges had been made, and that the reports which had "reached Berlin were only questions; nor even, when "the Conference commenced, did Pastor Ansorge furnish "them with a list of the questions which they would be "called upon to answer. Yet at this very time Pastor "Ansorge was himself putting forward, both in his letters

"man to promote harmony, and such I find to be the case. He has come out "prepared to support the younger men against the elder." * * * * "He "makes no secret of his views."

* Report of C. A. C., App. page 4.

“and his conversations, a charge of malversation against the
“elder Missionaries.” *

At length the Conference sat; Mr. Schröder and Mr.
The Conference meets. Atkinson being present. It opened on
the 18th November, and was continued
for three days. Mr. Ansorge again tried to force the elder
Missionaries to accept the new Constitution. They refused
even to have it read, so long as as ingle charge was held
back, or remained unrefuted.

It is quite unnecessary to enter fully into the several charges.
It will suffice to allude to one or two.

The first charge—and it practically embraced several of
The charges. the minor ones—was that the Mission
accounts were in a confused state, and
some of them incorrect, implying actual dishonesty on the
part of Mr. Herzog, the Treasurer, and connivance in it on
that of Pastor F. Batsch.

On the 24th October 1868 Mr. Ansorge had written to
Confusion of accounts. the Secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary
Committee as follows :—“ I have ex-
“amined the account-books of the station, and have found
“that a merchant, even if he had not a spark of Christian
“faith, would declare these accounts confused and unfair.”

Again he says :—“ The deeper I look into the external and
“internal administration of the Mission, the less I find the
“conscientious and faithful economy that you suppose. *I*
“*regret to say I find in Batsch and Herzog the faithful-*
“*ness of the unjust steward.*”

These grave charges were investigated most laboriously by
Mr. J. Schröder and Mr. W. Atkinson, themselves merchants
of standing in Calcutta, and practical men of business, who
have recorded the result of their investigation in the follow-

* C. A. C. Report, page 4.

ing words :— “ We are in a position to state that, after having
 “ examined the accounts carefully, going as far back as 1863,
 “ so far from being confused or needing excuse, they have
 “ been kept on a simple, clear, and comprehensive system,
 “ most creditable to Mr. Herzog. ” *

Another charge was that Mission oxen had been used in
 The Mission oxen used. ploughing a private field without pay-
 ment for the labor having been cre-
 dited to the Mission Account.

The Committee ascertained that the amount of hire which
 would be payable in one year would be about Rs. 13-6-0,
 and Mr. Herzog declared solemnly that the amount had been
 paid into the Mission cash box, though the items, being each
 time so insignificant, had not been from time to time speci-
 fied in the cash book. †

Another charge was that the Missionaries had appropriated
 The use of the coffee to their own use the produce of a few
 from the Mission garden. coffee trees which grew in the Mission
 garden.

It was explained that since 1859, when separate salaries
 had been assigned, and the “ common table ” of the Mission
 had ceased, each household, now living separately, had paid
 eight annas monthly to the Mission Fund for vegetables ;
 and they had not thought they were wronging the Mission in
 sharing among themselves the trifling produce of the coffee
 trees which their own hands had planted, and watered, and
 tended. ‡

Another charge was that they had taken the *zemindaree*,
 The farming of certain or farming, of some Government vil-
 villages. lages. They showed that this had been

* Report of C. A. C., page 6.

† Ibid, p. 15.

‡ C. A. C. Report, page 16.

done originally at the advice of Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner, with the view of lightening the expense of the Orphanage, inasmuch as part of the rent would be paid to them in a fixed quantity of grain ; that one of these villages embraced a large portion of the Mission station itself, and the right in it enabled the Missionaries at all times to give undisturbed refuge to any homeless Christians ; and that, moreover, the 105 maunds of rice paid yearly in rent, from one village, while the Mission paid to Government for the land Rs. 65-8-0, would, in 1866, have cost the Mission Rs. 525, thus effecting in that year a saving in the item of rice, of above Rupees 450 for the school. *

One other charge should be noticed. It was that the Missionaries were possessed of private property. The explanation of this is most simple. When, in 1861, their position at Ranchi was very precarious, when "they were in momentary dread of being expelled the Mission," † they had seized the opportunity of obtaining a small property in the neighbourhood, where, if driven from the Mission, they might shelter themselves and their families. The emergency did not arise, and they obtained a small rent for their houses. Another house was also given to them by a wealthy Resident, which also brought in a small rent. Then the Berlin Committee gave an allowance *only for three children* in a family, and that to a certain age. The Missionaries felt, therefore, that if, by strict parsimony, they could save a little out of even their small salaries, they were doing the Committee no wrong in applying the Apostolic injunction to their own case, in making some little provision for their children, or for themselves in their old age.

* Ibid, page 19 and Appendix III.

† C. A. C. Report, Appendix, p. i. Extract of letter from Mr. F. Batsch to Mr. Schröder.

This will give some idea of the real nature of the charges which Mr. Schröder and Mr. Atkinson have in their Report pronounced to be “unfounded and frivolous;” * while they have passed their further strictures on the “groundlessness of “the suspicions on which those charges were based.”†

These charges have been pronounced *malicious slanders*.‡

The whole bearing of Mr. Ansorge and the younger Missionaries these laymen from Calcutta denounced in the strongest terms. “It was apparent (they say) that the “younger Missionaries and Mr. Ansorge, in strange contrast “with their professions of peace and love, were only intent “upon humbling the elder Missionaries.” On the other hand,

The conduct of accu- of the conduct of those elder brethren, sers and accused. they thus write :—“We feel bound to “say that the respect and esteem which we entertain for “Messrs. Batsch and Herzog have been greatly heightened by “the simplicity, the gentleness, and the anxiety to throw light “on all subjects, which they displayed throughout the Con- “ference, despite the humiliations they were subjected to; “contrasting as it did strongly with the bitterness displayed “by Mr. Ansorge, and with his determination to find them “wrong.”§

It appears astounding that any one should have been so infatuated as to think of bringing such charges against *such*

The character of Mr. *men*—that a man like Pastor F. Batsch, F. Batsch and Mr. Herzog. who not only came out to India without any guarantee of salary, but *had provided the whole of his own out-fit*, and then *made over the balance of his property*, amounting to Rupees 1,500, to the Mission Fund, then

* C. A. C. Report, Appendix, page xviii.

† Ibid, page xxiv.

‡ *Friend of India*, 7th May 1869.

§ C. A. C. Rep., App., page xxi.

*bearing interest for the benefit of the Mission,** should for one moment have been deemed capable of countenancing dishonest dealing with Mission Funds ; or, that a man like Mr. Herzog, whose conscientious economizing system in the erection of Church, and Mission-house, and Schools, had been the subject of surprise and admiration in the neighbourhood, should have been thought guilty of peculation ! No wonder that the suspicions thus unworthily cast upon them both, called forth expressions of respect and sympathy on all sides, and from every class. “I believe that Mr. F. Batsch is the “soul of the mission,” says Dr. Brandis. “My impression of “him is that he is a Missionary enthusiastically devoted to his “work, and of a devout and humble disposition, who shuns “no self-denial in order to advance the work entrusted to “him.”†

Mr. Schröder says :—“Mr. F. Batsch has known for many “years no other interests but those of the Mission, with “which he has closely identified himself as, he only can do “it who has reared this work, and has grown with it.”‡

“Colonel Dalton says :—“There is not an official in the “station, or in the province, who does not view the accusa- “tions which have been made as frivolous or false.” And again, “For some ten years, during which the Chôta “Nagpore Mission has advanced from a few hundreds to “upwards of 10,000 converts, the Rev. F. Batsch has had “the chief direction of affairs, and I consider that, *humanly* “speaking, it is to his untiring zeal, his devotion to the “cause, his ability, noble character, and intimate knowledge

* C. A. C. Report, Appendix, page ii.

† Extract of a letter from Dr. Brandis to a member of the Berlin Committee, 30th June 1868, C. A. C. Report, Appendix, page iii.

‡ C. A. C. Report, Appendix, page iv. ; Letter from Mr. J. Schröder to Dr. Brandis, dated 6th July 1868.

“of the language and the ways of the natives, that this
 “success is mainly due. Mr. Batsch is known to almost
 “every man in Chôta Nagpore, and by every man that I
 “have ever heard speak of him—Hindoo, Mahometan, Kôl,
 “or Christian,—he is looked up to with respect for his piety,
 “ability, amiability, and unaffected simplicity of charac-
 “ter.” *

“Mr. Herzog has been throughout all these years the
 “right hand of the Mission. A more honest, upright man
 “does not, I believe, exist.” * * * “His great works at
 “Ranchi are noble witnesses of his industry and skill, and
 “many thousands of rupees have been saved to the Mission by
 “the tact and knowledge he can bring to bear on all he
 “undertakes.” † Colonel Davies thus endorses Colonel Dal-
 “ton’s opinions:—“All that Colonel Dalton has written has
 “my unqualified concurrence. * * * I have the fullest
 “confidence in Messrs. F. Batsch, Bohn, and Herzog, and I
 “have the most implicit faith in their ability, zeal, and
 “integrity.” ‡

Yet such were the men thus calumniated.

The charges, however, grave as they seemed,—*frivolous*
 and *false* as they were,—did not constitute the real brunt of

the attack on these good men. They
 The new Organisation. were proved to be contemptible; Mr.

Ansorge could afford to throw them aside with a sneer. He
 now brought up his reserve—the new “Constitution,”—which,
 while nominally giving to Mr. Batsch precedence, really robbed
 him of all authority. This was still to be insisted upon. Its
 object was all too patent. A Central Committee, consisting of
 Mr. F. Batsch as President, Mr. Hœberlin as Treasurer, Mr.

* C. A. C. Rep., Appendix, page xii; Letter from Colonel Dalton to Dr. Brandis

† Ibid. Report, Appendix, page xvi.

‡ Ibid.

Jellinghaus as Secretary !* “What,” Colonel Dalton asks, “was he (Batsch) to do in a Committee the members of which “were avowedly *his bitter opponents*, and one of them to “have the Treasure-chest?” Nor was this all. For the management of the Schools a Consistory was to be composed of Messrs. Hœberlin and Jellinghaus; and it was expressly provided that *no one should interfere with them*. Thus, Mr. F. Batsch had only a *nominal* chiefship in the Committee, † which was in future to manage the Mission he had founded, and was *excluded* from all control over the Schools he had built and governed for years.

What alternative was there for him, and the elder Missionaries? Had they remained, they would have been so

The Elder Missionaries much humiliated in the eyes of their own converts, that their day of usefulness would have been over. They did what alone they could do—they protested, and appealed to the Berlin Curatorium ‡ to do them bare justice by restoring them to their former position. So sensitively conscientious were they, that, rather than continue strife and division in the Mission itself, they resolved to withdraw from all active work, till their appeal should be answered from Berlin, and some arrangement, as they still hoped, be effected, by which they might be

* Rep. C. A. C., page 2. ‘What gross inconsistency of Mr. Ansorge, that a man, with charges which he still refused to admit were unfounded and disproved, should yet be deemed worthy to preside over that Mission!’ (Ranchi Pamphlet, page 10.)

† “As all questions were to be settled by a majority of votes, it is easily seen “that Mr. Batsch would have been outvoted on every point in which there was “a difference of opinion, and that, while nominally President of the Mission, he “would in reality have had no control whatever.” C. A. C. Rep., page 3.

‡ Mr. Ansorge told them the appeal was useless, that *he represented the Curatorium*. Letter of the elder Missionaries published in the *Friend of India*, June 3rd, 1869.

permitted to live on, perhaps die, in the midst of their own children in Christ.

They went forth, true to themselves, and to those high principles that had ever actuated them ; ready to sacrifice their own feelings—themselves,—if only peace might be restored. But they were not permitted to go forth *alone* ; no sooner was it known that they had withdrawn for a time from the Mission, than there followed them every Catechist (but two) attached to the Mission ; the great body of teachers ; the whole of the children of the Schools ;—and as the news spread in the villages far and wide, above 7,000 of the Native converts resolved to withdraw with them,—from young men, strangers, whom they did not know, who did not know them,—and to remain with those old and true friends, to whom they owed all they knew of Saving Truth. Soon, too, they were joined by the other Missionaries of standing in the Mission, Pastors H. Batsch and F. Bohn ; and also by Messrs. Krueger and Pohlenz. Comforting as doubtless was the evidence of so much sympathy and affection, and unshaken trust, on the part of those, old and young alike, among whom, and for whom, they had laboured so many years, not even this manifestation could make them altogether forget the bitterness of the separation to which, for a

What the withdrawal time at least, they were dooming themselves. That goodly *Church*,—theirs while yet “ Gossner’s Missionaries,” before the Berlin *Curatorium* existed,—for which, years gone by, they had raised the funds—which their own hands had helped to build—which their own fervent zeal helped to fill with souls thirsting for knowledge,—where they had helped to pile together as they believed “lively stones,” to be built up a spiritual temple acceptable unto God ; that *Font*, at which their own hands had received into the Church of Christ thousands of those who had

been brought through their means from darkness to light ; that *Holy Table* of the Lord, at which, month by month, they, and the children whom they had begotten in the Lord, had received 'strengthening and refreshing to their souls by the body and the blood of Christ ;' those *Schools*, wherein they had laboured so lovingly, pouring in drop by drop the stream of knowledge which should make the young wise unto salvation :—*all these*—and those *homes* in which God had suffered them to dwell for twenty years ; where he had given to them,—where, more than once, he had taken back from them—"the heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord"—these too,—all these scenes of labor and of life, rich with the associations of joys and sorrows of years, did they leave, rather than, by staying, disturb the peace of those that remained behind !

It was indeed a dreary day that saw them go forth from that Mission home ! No roof over their heads ; no certainty of provision for themselves, or those dear to them ; still—as those who had come before them—as one of their own number had come four-and-twenty years before,—in faith and in hope did they go forth now, 'committing their way into the Lord,' knowing that in His own good time, and in His own wise manner, He would bring about His own great ends.

Nor did they yet know *all* ; they did not know what to some of them was the *worst of all*, that from the day their letter reached Berlin—from the day that their appeal from the far distance so full of earnest remonstrance was laid before those who *should have been* their fathers and their friends—from that day nine of their children, and the wife of one of their number, who had hitherto been under the protecting care of their *Curatorium*, were *thrown upon the wide world*,—*left to starve*,*—had not God in His mercy

* See letter from Elder Missionaries, *Friend of India*, June 3rd, 1869.

raised up friends for them too, as He was watching over, and raising up friends for the sorrowing, heart-stricken fathers and husband in their far-off Indian fields of toil.

The *Curatorium* had attained the end so long they had in view ; their delegate, Mr. Ansorge, had fulfilled the object of his Mission for the promotion (as he once described it) of love, and good will, and harmony—"Gossner's Missionaries" were at last driven out from "Gossner's Mission."

Thus closed the year 1868.

THE TRANSFER.

CHAPTER IV.

IT would have been scarcely possible for the friends of the Mission to witness unconcerned the Effects of the rupture. signs of this approaching rupture, or to watch the widening of the breach between the elder and the younger Missionaries, without endeavouring, while it might be yet possible, to bring about a reconciliation ; and, failing this, not to identify themselves more or less with either one party or the other. That without exception, these tried friends took up heartily the cause of the elder Missionaries, should, one would think, have sufficed to show the *Curatorium* of Berlin that they would do well to receive with great caution the representations made to them by the inexperienced young men who had so recently joined the Mission, or by their delegate, Mr. H. Ansorge ; and to hesitate before taking a course which would inevitably rob the Mission of its real founders,—to say nothing of the cruel wrong that it might unintentionally be inflicting upon Pastor F. Batsch and his colleagues.

The *Curatorium* could not plead ignorance of the feeling which existed on every side. The Ranchi Committee. residents of Ranchi had all along evinced their deep interest in the Mission, which had grown up in their midst so as to become one of the institutions of the country, and now formed a Committee for the purpose of supporting the original Missionaries during the time their appeal to Berlin was pending. This Committee appealed themselves to the Berlin Committee to right the wrong which was

being done in their name. Foreseeing that their doing so might be regarded as interference between the *Curatorium* and their

Address the *Curatorium*.

Missionaries, they pleaded their long-proved interest in the Mission, their knowledge of the facts, being on the spot, not as unconcerned residents, but as persons to whom the government, and therefore the highest interests, of the Kôls were committed ; they urged that they were thus on every account the best able to judge of the real work of the Mission and its results ;—they testified warmly to the high character of the Missionaries who had been so calumniated, and they unhesitatingly warned the *Curatorium* that the course pursued by the younger men and Mr. Ansorge, if it received their approval, must result in the alienation of the great body of Kôl converts from the original Mission ;—that “ the bulk of the congregation at first, and the whole of it ultimately, ”* would follow Mr. F. Batsch and his colleagues ; and thus, what was so much to be deprecated, would result ; two Missions would rise up in Chôta Nagpore, of which the one under the young men, though having the advantage of the possession of the Mission premises, which the elder brethren had vacated, would be very soon absorbed into that under the old Pastors.

Then the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee—a body perhaps even more entitled to be heard at
 Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee. Berlin, and whose co-operation the *Curatorium* had been very ready to accept, and had acknowledged for above four years in raising funds for the Mission—addressed a no less earnest appeal, and uttered as distinct a warning. Without delaying till their own Report of the Conference at Ranchi should be ready for transmission to Berlin, they forwarded the appeal of the Ranchi residents,

* See C. A. C. Rep., Ap. B., pages 19-21 ; and Ranchi Pamphlet, pages 16-23.

and thus fully endorsed its statements :*—" We unanimously
 " (they say) and most anxiously entreat you and the *Curatorium*
 " to give the strong, but we believe unexaggerated,
 " representations in the enclosed letter your and their most
 " earnest and prayerful consideration, and suspend your judgment
 " until you are in possession of our Report.

" Until Messrs. Batsch, Bohn, and Herzog, can resume their
 " former place in the Mission, which we sincerely trust the
 " *Curatorium* will now enable them to do, we feel it our
 " duty to direct all our efforts towards maintaining them in
 " the position into which they have been most unwillingly
 " forced." †

And what had resulted from these two remonstrances, from Ranchi and Calcutta, the one dated November 30th, the other December 8th?—*To neither was any answer vouchsafed for months.* Of the tenor of those answers, when they did arrive, we shall have occasion to speak in a later part of our narrative.

We have already stated that the Missionaries themselves
 Appeal of the Mission- had appealed to Berlin against the
 aries; its result. *dictum* of Mr. Ansorge. How had
 their appeal fared? It had been despatched in the end of
 November; it reached Berlin before the close of the year.
 It was at once acted upon. Their children were *that very day*
 cast off by the *Curatorium*, to whose protection they had

* C. A. C. Rep., Ap., page xxv.

† In their Report which followed soon after, they said even more plainly:—

" As we fear that, should they leave Chôta Nagpore, the progress of Christianity among the Kôls would receive a severe check, we are anxious, if possible, to prevent such a catastrophe, and we hope that this statement of the circumstances that led to the disruption, will induce the friends of the Mission in India to aid Messrs. Batsch and Herzog and their colleagues to continue their work, independent of the Berlin Committee, should they confirm the action taken by Mr. Ansorge."—C. A. C. Rep., page 1.

been committed. But it took a month to prepare a reply to the appeal. That reply was not dated till January 26th, 1869, and did not reach Ranchi till the 1st of March.*

And what was its tenor? It began by condemning their conduct in "not receiving Mr. Ansorge with love, esteem, "and confidence." How far his conduct to them on his arrival was calculated to call forth such feelings the reader can judge. It charged them with "refusing to place before him the "accounts;" how freely those accounts *were* placed before him, and how carefully examined, and their accuracy vindicated, has been shewn. It also charged them with having excited the pupils of a school to leave it, and with drawing away the members of the congregation, and holding rival services; whereas they went *alone*—"themselves, their wives, and their "little ones." They asked none to follow them. But when the great body of converts, old and young, did follow them, and claimed a right to do so, who shall blame them that they continued their ministrations for the benefit of those who would have none but themselves as their Pastors?† The letter of the *Curatorium* proceeds to comment sneeringly on the grounds of their defence. It was not, they say, any great, vital point of doctrine, any momentous question involving the "purity of the faith" or "the honor of the Saviour," but one affecting "the personal honor of some of the Mission labourers." To the mind of the *Curatorium*, men charged with negligence of duty (by younger brethren, who had been sent out really as spies upon them); men accused of even

* See letter of the Elder Missionaries, published in the *Friend of India*, June 3rd.

† "This Society (the Berlin *Curatorium*) overlooked one important fact, *viz.*, that "though able to sever their own connection with Mr. F. Batsch and the "others, they were powerless to sever the connection between the Native Christians and their old Pastors."—*Ranchi Pamphlet*, page 11.

peculation with regard to Mission funds—were not expected to resent such imputations as affecting their Missionary character or usefulness. They still deemed them fit to labor on in that Mission, the great watch-words of which were self-devotion and self-denial; they only required them to submit to an organisation, by which they would be kept under control for the future. Authority in the Mission and the schools, and disposal of the funds, were no longer to be trusted in their hands: but they were to work on, under the control and surveillance of the young German university students, who had just joined the Mission. And it appeared to the *Curatorium* strange, unaccountable, unwarrantable, that these aged brethren, grey-haired fathers in the Church, with years of Missionary experience, should refuse to submit, not only to the degradation—for such it was meant to be—but to the reproach of negligence and incompetency, and, still more, to the charge of dishonesty; should make any effort to clear their characters, and to regain their position; or, if their characters were not pronounced clear, and their positions restored to them, should withdraw, in the hope that the *Curatorium* might yet be brought to listen to their defence, and re-consider the decision which their Berlin Commissioner had pronounced, and reinstate them.

Such was the tenor of the answer to their appeal. It touched slightly on the charges—it expressed surprise at the strong step the Missionaries had taken on what seemed to them such insufficient grounds—but it pronounced their refusal to subscribe to the new “Organisation” or “Constitution” to have virtually severed all official connection between them and the *Curatorium*; it decreed that from the 22nd November 1868—the day of their refusal and appeal—they were to be regarded as *seceders*: and were from that date left penniless in a strange land; and, worse than this, left with an

imputation upon their characters, a brand upon their names, throughout the Fatherland, which in their absence it was so difficult to refute or efface.

In the meantime—that is from November to March—the Elder Missionaries had been wholly supported by the liberality of their true Christian friends at Ranchi and Calcutta.

It was at this time that the Bishop of Calcutta was first brought into direct contact with the Mission.

He had months before become acquainted with the circumstances of the deplorable division ; and had been earnestly appealed to

The Bishop of Calcutta resolves to visit Ranchi.

by the elder Missionaries, and by Colonel Dalton and the Ranchi residents, to receive the main body of the Mission thus cast off, into communion with the Church of England. So determined was Bishop Milman to avoid anything approaching to interference, that he even deferred his visitation of Hazareebaugh, the neighbouring Military Station, in the autumn of 1868, while the rupture was threatening, lest his presence in the district should be misunderstood. Letter after letter reached him from the Missionaries themselves, from the Native Christians, and from the most influential and liberal supporters of the Mission, imploring him to come to their aid. Still he kept aloof, in the hope that this crisis might yet pass over, by a change of policy at Berlin, as others before had done. But on his return from his Visitation of Central India in the beginning of 1869, he heard that the reply from the *Curatorium* had come, that it denounced the elder Missionaries as “seceders,” and utterly cast them off. He then felt the time had come for him to take action. It had become as much his duty now to go to Ranchi as it had before been to remain away.

In anticipation of such a contingency arising, Bishop Milman had, in the end of the year, consulted the Calcutta

Secretary of the Church Missionary Society as to the probability of that Society being willing to take over their Missionaries and their converts, and to blend this Mission to the Kôls with that which they had opened and were carrying on so successfully in the adjacent district among the kindred aboriginal race, the Santhâls. But he was told that there would be a disinclination on the part of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to enter on this field of labor under present circumstances. He then communicated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The answer from this Society was favorable; being to the following effect:—

“ Our Committee could not but feel a strong wish to enter
 “ on the work at Chôta Nagpore, if an opportunity should
 “ be presented. At present, we have no funds here from which
 “ even the moderate grant* suggested by you could be made.
 “ If the contingency which you expect should actually occur,
 “ and the Mission be offered to us, the Committee will at
 “ least endeavour to raise a special fund in England for its
 “ support.”

Armed with this assurance he proceeded to Ranchi; still, however, cherishing some hope that a reconciliation might yet be possible. “ I shall first try to see Mr. Ansorge, and hear what he has to say;” he wrote to the author on his way there. He reached Ranchi on the 16th March: but found that Mr. Ansorge had left.

The scene which presented itself before him on the morning of his arrival was beyond measure touching.

The Bishop arrives at Ranchi.

No sooner was it known that he had arrived at Colonel Dalton's house, than the whole compound was thronged with

* As was represented at the time, a comparatively small sum would be needed to pay the salaries of the Missionaries who had been cast off.

Native converts. They came in hundreds, with their Catechists, Teachers, and Elders, at their head. They had prepared a petition in anticipation of his visit, and they begged for an interview that they might present it. There they now stood, petition in hand, some 800 in number, representing (as they said) above 7,000 brother converts scattered over the district. They were very peaceful and orderly in behaviour, but there was perceptible a determination of manner. Their grave, earnest, eager faces told how deeply they felt the momentousness of the issue; that they had come on a matter of life and death, or even more—one involving their whole spiritual future. And there facing them stood the Bishop, accompanied by the Commissioner of the district and other friends of the Mission. *

He had not sought them, but they had sought him, and that repeatedly; their cry for months had been "Come over and help us;" and now he had come to help them.

To help them the Bishop was resolved, if it were possible.

The Bishop's intended course. But how this were to be best done was still a matter for grave consideration.

The line he had marked out for himself appears to have been, to hear, so far as he could, all sides; to go fully into the merits

* We will not break the thread of the narrative to dwell upon the natural surroundings of the scene, but may be allowed to introduce them here as being probably unequalled in all India for a grandeur equal to any to be found on Snowdon or the Cheviots with a home softness which Kent or Devon could hardly out-rival. A climate almost English in its temperature, the grounds putting forth an exuberance of flowers, in which roses, geraniums, and other English favorites held a prominent position; behind the assembled multitude an imposing avenue of teak trees leading down to a lake of some fifty acres, embossed here and there with picturesque islands, and in the far distance a high towering hill closing in the view; the whole irresistibly carrying back the mind far away from the unpretending bungalow of an Indian Commissioner to some Baronial park in one of old England's loveliest counties.

of the present differences ; to look carefully at both sides of the case ; to take counsel of the Ranchi residents, and the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, and to urge a further appeal to the Berlin Committee ; then, if he was satisfied that the older Missionaries were being unjustly treated, and the Berlin Committee persisted in refusing to give them redress, he would take the Mission, or as many of the Pastors and converts as sought to be received by him, into communion with the English Church. But, prudent and cautious as was his original plan, it was, as is well known, somewhat modified by the force of arguments and entreaties which he could not resist.*

The petition of the Kôl converts, written in Hindi, set forward prominently that it had been the earnest desire of Pastor Gossner during his life, intensified as he found his end drawing near, that the whole Mission should be brought into communion with the Church of England ; and that this course was now the desire of their own hearts.† The Bishop listened attentively, evidently much moved by the tenor of the petition, and the whole scene around him ; he replied that he could not give them a definite answer at once, but would do so on the following morning, and earnestly exhorted them in the meanwhile to make the step they so eagerly desired the subject of fervent prayer for Divine guidance.

The subsequent incidents of this and the following day may be described in what is virtually the Bishop's own account of them, given at a meeting of the Calcutta Committee of the

* Bishop Milman's statement, S. P. G. Pamphlet, page 3.

† The Rev. F. Batsch subsequently admitted in his sermon, 18th April 1864, that he had been the cause of the transfer not taking place in 1864, the blame of which he took upon himself. He had then discouraged and opposed it.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel immediately after his return from Ranchi :—

“ After this Native deputation had withdrawn, the Ranchi Local Committee, in a body, accompanied by other English residents, numbering nineteen in all, presented a very strongly-worded memorial,* complaining of the gross injustice which had been done by the Berlin Committee to the Rev. F. Batsch, and praying the Bishop to take charge of the Mission, assuring him that this step was necessary for its permanence and development. To these gentlemen the Bishop made the same reply, that he would not give a decisive answer till the following morning.

“ He then expressed a wish to see the younger Missionaries; who called upon him in the course of the afternoon. The Bishop stated what had passed, explaining the tenor of the Native petition, and the memorial of the Ranchi Committee and residents; and then asked them if they wished to make any counter-statements, by which he might be guided in his decision. After a long silence, they said they had no distinct statement to make beyond a general lamentation over the evil of division, and a repetition of the old charges (these had already been disposed of by the Calcutta Committee); but they based the defence of their conduct on the answer which had come from the Berlin Committee in their favor, containing the dismissal of the older Missionaries.

“ This interview (in which the younger brethren betrayed the weakness of their position), and subsequent careful study of the Berlin Manifesto, decided the Bishop (he said) on the course to be pursued by him. He now felt no doubt

* See Appendix A.

that it was his duty to support the elder Missionaries, and to take charge of such of the converts as desired to be received into the Church of England.*

“On the following morning, Wednesday, March 17th, the Bishop had hardly finished writing his Hindustani reply, when the deputation of Native Christians with their Catechists—even more numerous than those of the day before—waited on him, impatient to receive the promised answer.

“He told them, in his written answer,† that he felt prepared to comply with their wishes in due time, but still thought it desirable to consult their Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, and suggested that they should again appeal to the Berlin Committee. This step they resolutely refused to adopt; and a general look of disappointment was visible in their faces. Nothing would satisfy them, but that he should give them a distinct promise that they should be formally received into the English Church, and that he actually looked on them at that time as being in connection with it.

“The Bishop then warned them of the many difficulties they would have to encounter. He reminded them that they must abandon all right to their beautiful Church, to their School-houses, and all the Mission property, and begin, as it were, anew; and that perhaps in the face of painful opposition.

“They declared themselves to be prepared for all this, if only the Bishop would consent to recognise them as members of the English Church.

* The younger brethren asked the Bishop what course they should adopt? He told them that many large and important fields for their Missionary energy lay open before them in different parts of India; but he thought that they, as the new-comers, should withdraw from this Mission, to avert the lamentable strife and division which would necessarily result from their remaining.

† See Appendix B.

“The Bishop wrote down, and then gave them this assurance, with which after some consultation, they declared themselves satisfied.”
 Its effect.

The following most interesting description of the scene, from the pen of a layman who was an eye-witness of the whole, may not unfitly be introduced here :—

“The anxiety of his hearers to know that they really were received into the Church of England was, perhaps, the most remarkable part of this impressive scene. When told by the Bishop that he would, after Easter, return to Ranchi to ordain their Pastors, and formally receive them into the Church, their countenances at once fell, and the question was immediately put, and put, too, with evident sorrow, ‘Then are we not *now* received?’ They could not see the force of the Bishop’s answer, that he wished, first, to make the necessary arrangements for the affiliation of their Mission, with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who had offered to receive it on to their establishment. This was to them a very secondary matter, all they wanted was to be one with the Church England—to feel that in matters concerning their Church, they could look to the Bishop and not to a Society in Berlin of whom they knew nothing—to feel, in fact, that a repetition of such injustice as had been done to them and their old pastors could not again occur; and it was not until they had received from the Bishop the positive assurance, that he did receive them into the Church of England, that their countenances brightened; as soon as they heard this distinctly stated, every face became radiant, and when, after having received the episcopal benediction, they sang the Thanksgiving (‘Now thank we all our God,’ &c.), their very notes seemed replete with exultant joy.”*

* Ranchi Pamphlet, page 13.

To return to the Bishop's Narrative.

“Soon after their withdrawal, about sixty other Kôl converts, apparently at the suggestion of the “younger brethren,” applied for an interview, which was granted. They presented two petitions—one of an entirely political character, asking the Bishop to interfere for the relief of a prisoner, and begging of him a general interference in the *land-question*; with this, of course, the Bishop declined to meddle, saying it was purely a case for the Magistrate's *Cutcherry*—the other petition seemed to imply that some external influence had been put on the body of Native Christians who had presented their petition the day before; but on being pressed for proof, they seemed quite unable to support their statement, and to have nothing to say beyond a general expression of regret at the impending division. Indeed, to some who witnessed this interview, these men seemed to withdraw with a wholly altered view of their position, and to be rather inclined to make common cause with the great body of their brethren.

“Such was the account which the Bishop gave of the circumstances which led to his visit at Ranchi, and of the succession of interesting incidents which marked his two days' stay there.

“He said further that he found that the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, of the Free Church of Scotland (in company with the Rev. J. Long, of the Church Missionary Society) had visited Ranchi a few weeks ago, and having examined the causes of the present disunion among the Missionaries, felt that it would be right for him to propose that the Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society should undertake at least a part of the Chôta Nagpore Mission; in particular that branch which is open near Hazareebaugh. It was,

The Free Kirk Mission Society think of taking a portion of the Mission.

however, understood that the elder Missionaries, and the people themselves, were inclined—he might say *resolved*—to act as one body, and that they preferred union with the Church of England.

“Being fully satisfied as to his own duty in taking charge of the Pastors thus formally, and he thought unjustly, cast off by their own Society, with the great body of converts, which desired to enter into communion with the English Church; and being further prepared to comply with the wish of the Missionaries, who are at present in Lutheran Orders, by conferring upon them English Ordination; the Bishop asked the Calcutta Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, if they would, on the strength of the letter from the Standing Committee which was read, provide the salaries of the Missionaries at the present rate.*

“The Calcutta Committee regarded the present opening as too important to be neglected, and, with the prospect of funds being available from certain changes occurring or impending in their present staff of Missionaries, and also from the probability of a considerable increase in their annual subscriptions, felt justified in undertaking the responsibility *to the extent of about Rs. 5,000 a year.*” †

Supported by this Resolution to subsidize the Mission to the Kôls to this extent, and moreover to aid, as far as they could, in giving effect to the Special Appeal which he himself intended to issue throughout the diocese, the Bishop at once arranged to take the decisive step of proceeding to Ranchi,

* The Bishop subsequently stated that he had seen Mr. Schröder and Mr. Pilgram, members of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, who said that they heartily approved of, and were thankful for, the steps which he was taking, and would willingly continue to act, and raise funds as before.

† S. P. G. Pamphlet, page 4.

according to promise, for the purpose of receiving into the English Church all such Kôl converts as sought to be admitted into communion, and of conferring English ordination on those elder Missionaries who desired it, being at present in Lutheran orders.

The 16th of April saw Bishop Milman again in the midst of the impatiently expectant Kôls. He
The Bishop returns to Ranchi. was now accompanied by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, as Officiating Diocesan Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Rev. C. E. Driberg, the Senior Missionary of that Society in the Diocese of Calcutta, the Rev. F. W. Robberds, the Chaplain of the neighbouring station of Hazareebaugh, and the Rev. M. R. Burge, his lordship's Domestic Chaplain.

No one who witnessed, and still less who took part in, that
Receives the communicants into the Church by Confirmation. succession of services which marked the visit of the Bishop at Ranchi can ever forget the impression produced by them. It being utterly impossible, considering the necessarily brief stay of the Bishop, to bring up to him individually every one of the many hundred Kôls who had gathered together for the occasion, it was decided that, according to primitive custom, the rite of Confirmation should mark the admission into the English Church of all who were already communicants in the Lutheran Church ; and their Confirmation should be followed by their receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in token of full communion. Thus the temporary Church of wooden posts, and straw and palm-leaf roof, which the cast-off Missionaries had reared for Divine Service, saw the Bishop and his attendant clergy present by sunrise on Saturday, April 17th, and again towards sunset, that evening, to hold Confirmation. Rail-full after rail-full, did these most orderly and earnest converts kneel, flowing up

in continuous streams, for the laying on of the Bishop's hands. Men and women of every age were there ; there might be seen the lithesome frame of youth, the robust vigor of mature life, and the feeble, tottering limbs of old age ; mothers with babes at their breasts, fathers with older children in their arms, whom they could not leave at their homes, but nevertheless would not suffer to interfere with their own coming. It was a scene to be remembered. Varied as they were in age and in appearance, there seemed to overspread the faces of all a devout, eager, joyous look, as they came up in their turn to receive the blessing and the grace in the Apostolic rite, with which they were familiar in their own Church, but the special significance of which they seemed fully to realise in the step they were now taking. In all there were, during the several services, 624 native converts thus admitted by Confirmation into the English Church ; representing the whole body of above 7,000, who were no less eager to share the privilege, but were unable to be present.

But the services of the Sunday were, if possible, even more
 Ordains the Lutheran Pastors. impressive and memorable. First came the Ordination Service. At 7 o'clock in the morning the Bishop, preceded by the four candidates, and the several clergy who were in attendance upon him, all in surplices, passed in procession into the Church, which was already filled to the very verandahs, and even beyond. There could not have been less than 1,100 gathered together ; while a considerable number of the English residents of the neighbourhood, the civilians of Ranchi, and the military men of the Dorundah Cantonment, were present, with their families, evincing the deepest sympathy in the performance of a Service which would confer on those faithful but ill-used Missionaries what they so earnestly desired. The service was by general request in English. The four candidates, Pastors

F. Batsch, H. Batsch, and F. Bohn, and Catechist Wilhelm Luther, a Native convert, were presented by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, Officiating Diocesan Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the three former being ordained deacons, and afterwards priests, the latter only deacon. A very earnest, impressive sermon was preached by the Bishop, and was followed by a celebration of the Lord's Supper, at which about 650 communicated—English, Germans, and Kôls,—all by the very act, testifying to the oneness of their faith. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon there was a service in Hindi, “at which the two brothers Batsch officiated for the first time as priests of the English Church.”* In the sermon which the Rev. F. Batsch preached, he stated that probably, but for his deprecating it at the time, the step they had now taken would have been taken five years before.† He rejoiced now to help on what he had then discouraged.

Soon after the conclusion of this Hindi service followed the evening service in English, in which almost all the clergy present took part; and the Bishop again preached. At its close a few more converts were confirmed, who had been unable to arrive in time for the Confirmations of the previous day in consequence of the distance of their homes.

Early on the Monday morning the temporary Church witnessed yet another, and a different, sight; but one no less impressive and interesting. Forty-one—“old men and maidens, young men and children”—were baptized. Allusion has been made in the earlier pages of this book to the plan adopted in this Mission in presenting candidates for baptism. It was strictly adhered to on this occasion. In addition to the requirements

* S. P. G. Pamphlet, page 11.

† In 1864. See above, page 64, *Note*.

of the service, the village elders were appealed to, to testify to the character of the adult candidates before they were called forward to be baptized. Indeed, it was the Bishop's earnest wish that no custom or observance which was not actually inconsistent with the requirements of the English Prayer Book should be abandoned ; but the Mission should retain its original character, and preserve its own system as much as possible.

On this occasion the scene was indeed striking. Here, amid the aborigines of India were being enacted scenes like those in which the Apostles themselves took part, in Judea and Asia Minor ; when the Samaritans, who believed Philip as he preached the things concerning the kingdom of God, were baptised, both men and women ; or Cornelius and his kinsmen and near friends, and the devout soldier, gathered together to hear at the mouth of Peter the things commanded of God, were all baptized in the name of the Lord : or at Philippi, Lydia and her household ; or the jailer, believing in God with all his house, were baptised, he and all his. Here would come up sometimes one convert alone, sometimes a couple, but sometimes a whole family. An aged couple, tottering forward to the font, followed perhaps by sons and daughters, or by a son and daughter-in-law, with their children, from the lad of seven or eight to the babe in arms ; three generations at once received into the Church of Christ ! And in such a Mission such may perhaps be no very rare sight. But to one witnessing it for the first time it was calculated to call forth feelings of no ordinary fervor and joy. "The Lord hath done great things for them !"

Before closing this account of the Bishop's visit, it will be well to mention the plans which were then laid down for the future secular working of the Mission.

On the Saturday a meeting of the Ranchi residents had been held at the house of Col. Dalton, to organise at once a Local Committee.

[of whom one-half should be Missionaries] to aid in collecting subscriptions, and to superintend the general management of the Mission. It was then resolved that all the Missionaries should receive their salaries on the same scale as they had been paid by the *Curatorium* ; that all Catechists and Readers should remain also on their former rates of pay ; the desire being that the Mission, though transferred to the English Church, and brought under the general control of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, should retain to the utmost its original character, and that no change should be made in its internal constitution.

While this Committee was sitting a remarkable incident occurred. There arrived a letter containing a formal protest from Mr. Ansorge, who had now returned to Ranchi. It is certainly noteworthy that, while Bishop Milman had intended, and expressed his intention, to seek an interview with Mr. Ansorge at his first visit in March, and failing to find him, had sent to invite* the young Missionaries, Messrs. Jellinghaus, Flex, and Hoeberlin, to a friendly consideration of the difficulties in which he found the Mission. Mr. Ansorge had never once during the intervening month communicated with the Bishop, though his Lordship's intention to come again, and object in coming, were well known ; but he waited till the Bishop had *begun* to receive the Kôl Christians into the English Church before addressing his Lordship on the subject. Of this protest† it is perhaps only necessary to say it was as

* These gentlemen appear in their report to Mr. Ansorge, and to the *Curatorium*, to have made a slight mistake in representing the circumstances of this meeting ; for Mr. Ansorge in his protest, and the *Curatorium* in their letter to Bishop Milman, (written on 21st April,) say :—" Our three Missionaries naturally availed themselves of the opportunity to present themselves to your Lordship," whereas their visit resulted from the Bishop's having *sent an intimation that he wished to see them.*

† See Appendix.

weak as it was tardy. The Bishop replied courteously, but very decidedly, as to the course of action he was pursuing.

"Believe me" he wrote, "that I have sought for God's guidance in this matter; and I cannot say that I doubt the correctness of my judgment in it, especially as I have the universal concurrence of the supporters of the Mission in India itself."

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England have since expressed their hearty concurrence in the course adopted; "The Standing Committee (they say) cordially and thankfully accept the action of the Bishop of Calcutta."

SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

CHAPTER V.

GLADLY would the writer here lay down his pen; his tale told, of how those elder Missionaries, and the thousands of converts, who had clung lovingly to them, found refuge in the English Church, recognised by the Bishop of Calcutta, and adopted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Such a consummation had formed a fitting and a pleasing close to his narrative. But unhappily troubles and

Further troubles.

trials were not over for Chôta Nagpore.

Not yet were the old Pastors and their faithful converts to remain in peace:—nor was the Bishop, who had responded to their call, to enjoy undisturbed the satisfaction of having been able to befriend them in their time of need. Not indeed that Bishop Milman could have expected that a course so bold, and carrying with it so decided a censure of the action of the Curatorium, and condemnation of the conduct of the young Missionaries, would pass without notice or comment. But he could hardly have been prepared for the extent to which misrepresentation and calumny would go, under the form, too, of ‘Appeals to Christian Charity,’ and in (professed) vindication of Church order. The Curatorium most unhappily accepted all the misrepresentations, and acted on the evil counsels of their Commissioner, Mr. Ansorge,—whose conduct one * Indian paper says “presents the most painful spectacle that has ever “stained the history of Indian Missions,”—and of whom

* *Englishman* of June 15th, 1869.

another * says that "he is a sad warning to all Home Missionary Committees." On his reports, despite the statements of the old Pastors themselves, and the remonstrances and appeals of the two local Committees, the Curatorium committed themselves to persevere in their woeful course of condemning and denouncing their old Missionaries, and

Misrepresentation.

fulminating their anathemas on the head of Bishop Milman for the part he had taken. Overwhelming was the effect to be produced in Europe by their action. Germany was to be roused : England to be moved to sympathetic indignation : or, failing that, a coolness threatened between Prussia and England ! However, it all ended there in a few feeble protests. Unhappily not so in India, where ignorance of the real facts, and misrepresentation of the true motives, were less excusable. Here jealousy was rife ; and an opposition arose, under the plea of deep interest in the Mission, to retard and thwart the efforts Bishop Milman was making to save and support it.

Although the original charges against the old Pastors had been proved to be groundless,—nay, had been denounced as 'malicious slanders,'—the Curatorium did not think it beneath their dignity to repeat them ; they harped on the old chords ;—accounts not rendered—landed property owned by the Missionaries—villages farmed by them, &c. New charges, too, were now brought forward ; discourtesy to "our

New charges.

Commissioner," our "trusted Visitor ;" the opening a "counter Mission ;" the enticing away "the pupils of *our* Schools," and "inviting them to take away with them *the clothes we had provided.*" The old differences of 1861†, even, were raked up, as evidence of a long cherished spirit of insubordination. Then, it had

* *Friend of India*, May 13th, 1869.

† See page 31.

been found by Mr. Ansorge that the Native Catechists and Readers of the Mission were ignorant of the first elements of Christian truth ; and all through the negligence of the older Missionaries. Then, that Native converts while in jail had been neglected, though the younger Missionaries desired to visit them. Then again, that young men sent out from time to time “had sighed deeply over the treatment they had experienced at the hands of the elders, who had systematically either opposed their entrance, or caused their removal to other stations.” Such were the charges—some new, some only new in form—brought against the Pastors in the letter from the Curatorium of January 26th, 1869. Others, too, there were, not addressed as charges to the old Pastors themselves, but with the view of casting the more obloquy upon them, given to the world as complaints, in the form of letters,* the writers avowing the source of their inspiration to have been the Curatorium, or individual members of it. One, for instance, is the adoption of Hindi, and

* See a letter from Rev. J. E. Carlyle, Free Church Chaplain, Berlin, published in the *Friend of India*, May 27th, 1869, and a letter from an anonymous correspondent, announced as a “high ecclesiastical dignitary,” published in the same issue under the title “A Puseyite Aggression.”

The claim which Mr. Carlyle puts forth to have his statements accepted as true is based on his personal knowledge, as having once been a Free Church Chaplain at Bombay, and being now in the same capacity at Berlin. Now, Bombay is distant several hundred miles, of what then was a particularly inaccessible country, from Chôta Nagpore. Nor, on looking over the Reports of the Mission from its commencement, do we find any substantial proofs of the existence of the Mission to the Kôls being even *known* at Bombay ; certainly no Auxiliary Committee was formed there, as at Calcutta ; not a single subscription—not even one from the Rev. J. E. Carlyle—can we discover in the list of early friends, as having come from Bombay. So much for Mr. Carlyle’s knowledge, arising from his having been at Bombay. It has been said well by the Editor of the *Friend of India*, in publishing his letter, that he was “well entitled to represent the Curatorium” as he was “as ignorant, as that body, of the real facts of the case,” as he and they alike received all their knowledge through the designedly distorted medium of Mr. Ansorge, “but for whom no scandal need have taken place

the utter neglect of the aboriginal languages ; another, the want of education on the part of the elder Missionaries,—their previous callings cast in their teeth.

In justice to the elder Missionaries it is necessary to notice briefly some of these new charges.

The ignorance of the Catechists and Readers. Now, the special task of teaching and training these Catechists and Readers had originally been performed by Mr. F. Batsch himself. But in 1865, this duty was entrusted to Mr. Didlaukies, who had arrived the year before. In writing to the Curatorium in 1868 he says, “ Another work in which I am engaged is that of the Catechists. I instruct them since 1865.” The blame then of their ignorance after three years of Mr. Didlaukies’ teaching can hardly lie on Mr. F. Batsch. This question has, however, been so fully disposed of by the German gentlemen of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee in their letter to the Curatorium, where they state certain painful facts connected with the examination of the Readers as held by Mr. Ansorge, that it is scarcely necessary here to add more in refutation of this charge against the elder brethren. Suffice it to say that one of these very Catechists, Wilhelm Luther, who owes all he knew to the training of the old Pastors, was subjected by the Bishop to a searching examination prior to his being ordained Deacon, and was pronounced by him to possess a very extensive knowledge of the Bible, and a rare comprehension of the bearings of the leading controversies of the early Church,*—points which, as Bishop

* See a letter under the signature of Revd. Mr. R. Burge, Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Milman, published in the *Friend of India*, May 13th, 1869 :—“ Wilhelm Luther passed his examination with singular ability and success. His knowledge of the Bible, the doctrines, and the history of Christianity, were remarkable. There was the clearest evidence of faithful study, and able instruction and preparation.”

Cotton said, were so important for a Missionary to know in his labours among the-people of India. Again, when Bishop Milman visited Assam he was surprised at the intelligence and Scriptural knowledge of of the Kôl emigrants in those parts.* “The earnestness and devotion of these Native Christians was remarkable. And their affection and reverence for the Rev. F. Batsch, of the Chôta Nagpore Mission, under whose teaching they became Christians, seem as vivid and real in their exile and loneliness as when at the head-quarters of the Mission itself. It is a gratifying and practical proof of that worthy Pastor’s influence for good, that his teaching and simple faith can be traced even in the far scattered members of his flock, and that ‘there you see the blessing of Batsch’s teaching,’ is almost proverbial among the Kôls, even in the wilds of Assam, as at the more systematised Church-centre of Ranchi.”† Not to go further, these two facts surely lead to the inference that the Catechists and Readers had not been so utterly neglected, and left in ignorance, by the Elder Missionaries.

The next ground of complaint was that the native converts Prisoners neglected in Jail. had not been visited while in Jail. This brings us to the consideration of a wider question. For what were these men in Jail? Mainly for what may be termed ‘Agrarian riots.’ To make this question more intelligible we must briefly review the political condition of this District.

In Chôta Nagpore, as a general rule, the *Zemindar*, or Land tenures in Chôta Nagpore. landed proprietor, is a Hindoo, while the *ryots* or laborers are Kôls. The

* See page 21, Note.

† Extract from Report of Bishop Milman’s Visitation Tour, published in the *Indian Church Gazette*, of 14th August 1869.

land is held under *three* forms of tenure. 1st—Land that pays rent, in money or in kind, to the owner. This is termed *Rajahas* or *Rujhus*. 2nd—Land held on certain conditions of agricultural service, such as thatching the landlord's house, and cultivating a certain portion of his land ; this is called *Majhaha* or *Munghus*. 3rd—Land which having been originally cleared by the owner, or his ancestors, is rent free : but for which, though paying no rent, yet in recognition of the suzerainty of the *Zemindar*, certain service is rendered ; it was formerly a military service, as in the feudal tenures of Europe ; but under the change in the condition of the people, this service has come to be of more humble character, such as accompanying the landlord, and carrying his baggage, on a journey, or an expedition. This was called *Bhuinhari* tenure

For many years the *ryots* of the second and the third class, specially the third, have been the victims of systematic oppression ; the landlords perpetually demanding labor in excess of the stipulated amount, or even sub-letting or selling their land to men who lived at a distance ; in which cases the transfer of right of service to an outsider, who might compel the *ryots* to accompany him on his journey to a remote home, came to be a source of great hardship and injury. Then again the *Zemindars* were constantly trying to break down the rights which these small proprietary cultivators had in their land, by claiming the right to take possession of it when a *ryot* died without an heir, or when he left his ancestral holding. So greatly had the power of these Hindoo *Zemindars* increased, and so carefully did they generally manage to get the *ryots* into their hands, that, as Colonel Dalton says, * “ When matters came to issue between the ‘ simple Kôl’ and the *Zemindar*, or

* Quoted by Mr. Dampier in his speech on introducing in the Bengal Legislative Council a Bill for the Regulation of certain tenures in Chôta Nagpore, 14th November 1868.

foreign farmer, the Kôl had no chance, and indeed he appeared to think so himself, for he seldom sought redress."

"But (Colonel Dalton goes on to say) the Kôls who embraced Christianity imbibed more independent notions, and in several instances successfully asserted their rights. From this the belief unfortunately spread through the district that when Kôls go to Court *as Christians* they are more uniformly successful than those who have not changed their religion. * * * *

"The next step was to profess Christianity, and going up to Ranchi to the Mission, they returned with their hair puritanically cropped, and were ready to assert their rights, and defy their landlords.

"Right or wrong, the demands that were made by the latter were resolutely opposed. Affrays took place, and blood was shed; and considering the acts of the *nominal* Christians, who took advantage of these disturbances to seize lands to which they had no right, and to extort from *Zemindars* and farmers what they called compensation for the property they alleged had been taken from them, it is surprising that disturbances of a more serious nature did not break out."

Colonel Davies, the Judicial Commissioner, also says, "In justice to the true converts, I must say these (the malcontent *nominal* Christians who head this agitation) are invariably men who are not recognized as Christians by the Missionaries, and really know nothing of the true faith: but they imagine they have become so, because they have been a few times to the Mission, and have cut their hair off; but it is to be the more regretted since it gives a coloring to the complaints brought by the *Zemindars* against the Christians as a body; for these men have undoubtedly been guilty of taking the law into their own hands, instead of preferring their claims through the ordinary Courts."

To such an extent was this putting forward illegal claims by pretended Christians carried, that in 1867 a petition for restoration of rights in lands was presented to Government professing to emanate from 14,000 Kôls professing Christianity. When Mr. F. Batsch, as the head of the Ranchi Mission, was consulted, he analysed the signatures, and replied that "not more than twenty" belonged to their communion at all, and "*they* had all been sometime excluded from Church fellowship."

Out of the spirit of disaffection thus evoked arose disturbances ; the ring-leaders were seized, tried, and imprisoned. Unfortunately these intriguers, or their dupes, were not long in finding they had friends *in the Mission*. At the very time when the Bengal Government, under the counsel of the Local Authorities, were legislating for the judicial adjustment of such claims, the young Missionaries were taking up the cause, denouncing the action of the authorities as conniving at the oppression of the *Zemindars*, and complaining that their elder brethren were selling the poor Christian converts for the favor of the ruling powers of the district. They put themselves forward as champions of the oppressed ; ignorant of the real bearings of the question, they confounded right and wrong, and unfortunately carried their views even within the prison walls,—a course, which the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Money, was compelled to stop ; "There is no objection (he wrote) to Christian prisoners being visited by Missionaries, or the latter holding service with them on Sundays : but it is very desirable that any one admitted to such intercourse with prisoners, should abstain from in any way sympathising with them, and leading them to look on themselves as martyrs.

"I have in jail at present several Christians to whom any Missionary may do great good by showing them how utterly wrong their course is ; but incalculable harm may be done by

any ill-judged sympathy. I shall have no fear of such sympathy being shown by you, or any of the elder brethren, nor of its being shown by any of the younger brethren, if their visits are made at your wish and under your advice and supervision; but if you have nothing to do with the present arrangement, and if it is done without your advice, I should greatly prefer such visits being made by you, to any of the younger brethren, who have not your experience in local matters.”*

Thus it came that there were Kôl converts—many merely nominal—some doubtless real Christians, but misled by their designing fellow-Kôls—in jail. Such were the circumstances under which Mr. Ansorge charged Mr. Batsch with having induced the English Magistrate to withdraw from one of the younger brethren “the permission which had been granted to him to preach in the prison.”† Such the foundation of the charge that the prisoners had been neglected. It is generally admitted that the course pursued by the elder Missionaries during these disturbances, and the influence exercised by them among the Kôls, have greatly facilitated the official investigation and adjustment (now going on) of all such claims, and have tended to the restoration of order and peace. So much for that charge.

The next ground of complaint was the arbitrariness on the part of the elder Missionaries, especially
 Arbitrariness of the elder Missionaries. Mr. F. Batsch, towards the young men from time to time sent out to them from Berlin. This stood last on the list of the original charges brought by Mr. Ansorge.‡

* Extract from a letter from Captain R. C. Money, Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, to Rev. F. Batsch, dated 17th September 1868, published in C. A. C. Report, App. p. vii.

† Letter of Mr. Ansorge to Mr. Schröder, dated 19th October 1868. C. A. C. Report, App. vii.

‡ C. A. C. Report, p. 20.

Although refuted at the Conference, it was revived in a graver form, in the reply of the Curatorium to the appeal of Mr. F. Batsch. They say there, "The assurance of the younger brethren that it had been rendered impossible for them to get into satisfactory collegiate relations with you, the elder ones, has unfortunately received additional proof instead of being disproved ; * * * * The late Steinberg, and Struwe, and other brethren sighed deeply over the treatment which they experienced at your hands; and complaints, which have recently emanated from the younger brethren, are essentially the same." "You have systematically either opposed their entrance, or have caused their removal to other stations, or have tried to do so." Then in their printed letter to the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee they say even more strongly—"Why have hardly any of the large body of Missionaries which were sent to Mr. F. Batsch and his associates to Ranchi been able to get a place there, though there was an urgent necessity that the number of labourers should be augmented? Why have they all been transferred to other stations, or have been removed? They all give unanimously the same reason—arbitrariness and want of love on the part of Mr. F. Batsch." In a later part of the letter they say, "Eight highly esteemed Missionaries" have been so treated.

This is a question of facts which admits of being proved or disproved. Let us see in which direction the evidence tends. First take the case of Mr. Steinberg. This has been already explained.* In 1861, on the retirement of Pastor Schatz Mr. Steinberg, of the Gangetic Valley Missions, was nominated by the Curatorium to take charge of the Chôta Nagpore Mission, but on the representation and remonstrances of Mr. F. Batsch and his associates, a conference of independent persons was held, at which Mr. F. Batsch himself was

* See pp. 31-2.

not even present ; and the proposed arrangement was abandoned.* Here then it was not any "arbitrary domineering" of Mr. F. Batsch over Mr. Steinberg, but a protest of the Missionaries and their friends against one of their own body, who had been for 16 years connected with the Mission, and always regarded as second only to Mr. Schatz, being superseded on Mr. Schatz's retirement, by one who was a stranger to the Mission, and who, recognising the justice of their objections, withdrew of his own accord.

As regards Mr. Struwe what are the facts ? He came out in 1865. The Curatorium decided that he should join the branch Mission recently opened at Purulia ; while the Ranchi Missionaries were very desirous that he should remain with them, which was subsequently approved by the Curatorium. However, at a conference of all the Missionaries held that year, it was resolved to open another branch Mission at Chyabassa ; and Mr. Struwe gladly accepted the proposal of the conference that he should take up this new Mission field : an arrangement which the Curatorium approved of for the time, but only sanctioned as temporary, now wishing to locate him at Ranchi, as a teacher in the school in the course of erection. Mr. Struwe proceeded to Purulia ; but in spite of the warnings and entreaties of the Ranchi Missionaries, went out into the jungles of Singbhoom at a deadly

* "On the 15th November (1861) we received several letters from Pastor Steinberg transmitting to us the Resolution of the Curatorium, by which he had been commissioned to take charge, and to become the leader, of the Mission, and informing us of his determination to accept this Commission. * * * A long correspondence ensued which resulted in the appointment of a Conference in April 1862 ; members of which were Pastor Steinberg on the part of the Curatorium, and Pastor Brandt on our part ; they elected Dr. Duff, Dr. Mullens, Mr. McLeod Wylie, and Colonel Hannyngton. The result of the Conference was that Pastor Steinberg withdrew of his own accord, and all misunderstanding between him and us ceased from that moment." Communicated by Mr. F. Batsch, and forwarded by Calcutta Auxiliary Committee to the Curatorium, 30th June 1869.

season, sacrificing his health, and as it proved his life, to his zeal. Jungle fever prostrated him, then cholera supervened ; and in August 1866 he died at his post, respected and beloved. Such are the facts ; he had been wished for at Ranchi ; he went readily to Purulia, on the expression of the wish of the Conference ; still looking forward to returning to Ranchi as soon as the schools should be ready. All his letters to the Ranchi Missionaries were full of kindly regard and brotherly love : and his death was sincerely deplored by them all. How can it be true, that *he* “sighed deeply over their treatment” ?—that they “opposed *his* entrance, or caused *his* removal to other stations” ?

Two young Missionaries certainly left the Mission in 1865 : their names are wisely not mentioned by the Curatorium, and we will exercise a similar reserve : for being at all alluded to they must thank the younger brethren and the Curatorium. They were married men : and Pastor F. Batsch felt that a separation of the two families was absolutely necessary if a great scandal was to be averted. They refused to be separated ; and both families left the Mission. The Curatorium will, if we mistake not, find in their records of proceedings and correspondence of that time some very strong expressions of approval of the course pursued by Mr. F. Batsch in this painful transaction. In 1865, it had been his *judicious promptness* ; in 1869 it was his *arbitrary domineering spirit*, which forced these Missionaries to withdraw.

Another victim of Mr. F. Batsch's arbitrariness is named by the Curatorium, in their printed letter to the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee,—Mr. Flex. What was his case ? He joined the Mission in 1861 ; he left it in 1864. The Curatorium in their letter referred to, say, Mr. Flex's “remaining at Ranchi had been rendered impossible through the arbitrary behaviour of Mr. F. Batsch. To this conviction Mr. Flex

adheres to this day, for he has informed us (under date of February 6th, 1869), that there was no impediment now to his entering again the Mission at Ranchi since the cause which made him leave four years ago, namely, the arbitrariness of Mr. F. Batsch, had ceased to exist." This Mr. Flex wrote in February 1869. Had it escaped his own memory, or was it unnecessary, or inconvenient, to inform the Curatorium that in September and October 1868, he had written to Mr. F. Batsch in terms of deep remorse, most humbly, not to say abjectly, confessing how ungratefully he had requited all Mr. Batsch's paternal kindness four years before—hinting with considerable plainness at the hope that, as he found tea-planting had a secularizing effect upon his mind, he might be admitted again into the Ranchi Mission under him—the arbitrary Mr. Batsch? The reader will probably think that, under these circumstances, Mr. Flex's finding it "impossible for him to remain at Ranchi" resulted rather from his own than Mr. Batsch's conduct.

Thus the cases of five at least of "the eight highly esteemed Missionaries" have been, we hope, satisfactorily disposed of.

Another complaint was that a *foreign* language (Hindi)

Hindi the language of the Mission. had been adopted in the Mission, to the utter neglect of the aboriginal language, or languages, of the Kôl. This grievance of language, though existing from the very first, was not included among the charges brought by Mr. Ansorge against the elder Missionaries, or even alluded to in the conference of November 1868.*

* It first saw the light in an Indian paper in an anonymous letter which appeared in the *Friend of India*, of May 6th, 1869, under the singularly appropriate *nom de guerre* of FAIR PLAY. The "whole tone of the letter is, (what the Editor pronounces it to be) unbecoming." Some allowance must be made if it savours rather of a tea-plantation than a Mission House.

It was clearly an after-thought, first used as a ground of complaint in the reply of the Curatorium to the Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, dated 5th April 1869, where they say "Mr. F. Batsch seems to have had no comprehension of their crying wish to bring the word of God nearer to these poor people in their mother tongue." It has since been made much of by Mr. Ansorge and his Ranchi associates. Now this complaint has been to some extent anticipated,* in stating the reason why Hindi *was adopted* as the Church language—the different languages and multitude of dialects spoken by the several races of Kôls, Oraons, Mandaris, Hos, &c.; whereas Hindi was the one generally recognised medium of communication among all—the lamentable paucity, too, of the Kôl languages and the fulness of the Hindi—the fact, moreover, that a Hindi New Testament had been under God the means of bringing in the first Kôl enquirer : not that the original languages had been so utterly neglected as was represented. So long ago as 1850, tracts had been published in the Oraon language, and many have been subsequently added. The Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. xxxiv., and more recently the iind. Part of its Ethnological Series of 1866, bear witness to Mr. F. Batsch's extensive knowledge of that dialect ; while Mr. Kruger, of Chyebassa, is probably the best Indian scholar of the *Ho* dialect spoken by the Larka Kôls of Singbhoom. While, then, the public services were, for the general convenience, in Hindi, private ministrations, the preparation of adult candidates for Baptism, or for Confirmation, and their private instruction, especially among the females, were always, when necessary, in their own dialect. Thus the charge, as now made, is simply *false*. The case of the Sonthals admits of no parallel—there thousands speak *one* language ; and therefore that

* Pages 12-13.

language is naturally, so far as it can be, used as the Church language.

Painful as has been to the writer the recital of those differences which have marred the harmony of the Chôta Nagpore Mission, and still more painful the examination of the charges brought against the elder Missionaries, he has felt that the necessity was laid upon him to put forward the whole case in such a manner that all interested in the question might be enabled to contemplate it in all its bearings. It is for his readers to decide what has been the result of his investigation ; how small a residuum of truth can be detected in his analysis of the grave imputations and charges brought against the conduct and character of the elder Missionaries.

That the condition of the Mission was all that could be desired, that there was not a single blemish to be detected in it, is perhaps too much to say. There may have been a tendency to undue centralisation ; the remote villages may not have been visited with as much frequency as might be desired ; but was that altogether the fault of the Missionaries themselves, or not to some extent the necessity of their position ? For some years, if we mistake not, Pastor F. Batsch was the *only* ordained Missionary for the many villages included in the Ranchi Mission. Single-handed, what could he do otherwise than require that baptisms, celebration of Holy Communion, &c., should take place in Ranchi itself ? That he and his colleagues had not had the advantages of a collegiate education, probably none felt more deeply than he or they : but it was as unjust as it was ungenerous to taunt them with their humble origin, or their lack of learning, especially when God had so greatly blessed them—had in their case revived the primitive phenomenon of selecting “not many wise, not many

noble" for the advancement of His kingdom, but a few humble instruments for the attainment of glorious ends, that the praise might be *His* alone.

It is attributed * to Pastor Gossner that on his death-bed he admitted that the constitution of this Mission was "a blunder." Sad, indeed, that the Curatorium, who took up the mantle of that saintly Evangeliser, did not discover the blunder, and attempt to remedy it, *for ten years*—not until the then 700 converts had grown into 10,000. *Blunder* it might have been to the worldly eye; but surely the Divine blessing, which rested so abundantly upon it, might have been accepted as sufficient guarantee of Divine favor,—God making His power the more manifest out of man's weakness. But how unwise is such an admission now! How it reflects on the Curatorium! Can they produce any evidence that all those years they made any attempt to remedy it? The imposing Pastor Steinberg would only have perpetuated the blunder; for to this day, if we are not mistaken, the same system, or absence of system, prevails in the Gangetic Valley Missions. † If any new constitution was from the first felt to be needed, how can they reconcile it to their sense of duty to the good Pastor Gossner that his dying words of advice were so little heeded, that they were never acted on for so many years! What wonder, then, if the old Missionaries who had done their best, and been greatly blessed of God, though forgotten of their own countrymen, should have looked with no little suspicion on this newborn zeal of the Curatorium for their long-neglected Mission, and resisted the imposing of a form of administration, every detail of which betrayed mistrust and

* See Rev. J. E. Carlyle's letter to the *Friend of India* (already alluded to), of May 27th, 1869.

† With the same habit of letting salaries fall into arrears.

doubt. If they had now at last awakened to a sense of the blunder ; if they now began to think that it was really necessary that a change should take place in the organization of the Mission—that a higher standard should be fixed in the seminary as well as in the boarding-schools—that less of personal power, that more of home control, should be exercised, still was it too much to expect that those who had laid the foundations, and had been permitted to raise up so goodly a Mission, should not be utterly ignored—set aside, degraded—in the determination to reorganize it. *Blunder* there may have been in the original constitution ; blunders in the administration : but the greatest of all blunders, the most disastrous to the Mission, was the character of the new Constitution, and the manner in which it was to be forced on the old Missionaries.

It has been sometimes urged on behalf of the Curatorium, that they could do no less than accept the statements of their Commissioner ; that any blame attaching to their subsequent conduct must lie on him rather than on themselves. But the fact cannot be lost sight of that, from the very formation of the Curatorium in 1858, the connection between it and the Chôta Nagpore Missionaries had been most unsatisfactory. It has been too apparent how really indifferent they had been. When, in 1861, their early friend, Mr. McLeod Wyllie, obtained a grant of money from the Church Missionary Society in England, and found the Curatorium at Berlin, whose irregularity of remittances had made application for this grant necessary, claiming a right to exercise a control over its expenditure, he wrote to Mr. F. Batsch, “ the Berlin Committee have not, and never had, any right of control over any part of it. The Church Missionary Society placed it at my disposal for your Mission, or rather at the disposal of your Mission through

me." So indifferent, too, were they in 1864, that Bishop Cotton, so cautious in all his dealings with members of other communions, wrote to them in terms of rebuke, that at all events their Missionaries' *salaries should be secured to them.*

If the Curatorium complain, as they do in their letter to the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, that

Curatorium complain
that Calcutta friends
encouraged the Mission-
aries in their resistance.

"they cannot get rid of the conviction that their Missionaries would not have had the courage to persevere in their surprising resistance without the countenance given to them in Calcutta," may not the Calcutta friends of the Mission meet the imputation with this retort, *Was there not a cause?* There had been a time when those Missionaries were months in arrear for their very salaries, and must have suffered great privations had not these friends in Calcutta given freely of their own substance, and raised subscriptions among their friends, to supply their need ; while the answers from Berlin to the repeated requests for funds elicited the, no doubt true, but hardly very satisfying or encouraging, reminder, "that man doth not live by bread alone." There had been a time when one of those Pastors, H. Brandt, sinking under a disease aggravated, if not caused, by his devotion in the Mission, would have been unable to leave India (though he did leave it all too late for life), but for the ready help of those Calcutta friends who gave the money to pay the passage for himself and his family to Germany. A faithful Missionary broken in health after nearly twenty years' devoted service, being forced to *beg* the money to pay his passage home, was scarcely calculated to strengthen the ties between the Missionaries and the Curatorium. So deeply interested in the Mission—so identified with the devoted Missionaries—what wonder that these Calcutta friends did stand by them in the great trials of 1868, when they

were cast off penniless by the Curatorium, and when, in the very act of thus casting them off, the Curatorium branded them with being *seceders* and *enemies*? *

We now pass on to examine the several strictures made
 The step taken by the Bishop of Calcutta. on the course pursued by the Bishop of Calcutta.

These may be considered under three heads:—

First, that his conduct was unprecedented and unjustifiable;
Secondly, that it was at least hasty and premature; and,
Thirdly, that his conferring on the Missionaries Anglican Orders, was an insult to the Lutheran Church.

It certainly was not unprecedented in intention at least, even
 Not unprecedented. in this Diocese; as Bishop Heber, during his visitation at Madras early in 1826, was, according to Archdeacan Robinson's account of his "Last Days," called upon to contemplate a somewhat similar step.

"It appears (he writes) that a considerable number of poor
 Bishop Heber contemplated it. native Christians, employed about the beach, have built by subscription a good church for their own use; and though nominally Roman Catholics, yet, being dissatisfied with the neglect they have experienced from their own pastors, they are just balancing whether they shall not seize the opportunity of our Bishop's presence at Madras to make the building, which is nearly finished, a Protestant church, and request the services of a clergyman of the Church of England. * * * His Lordship has written to say that, if this should be their determination, he will, with great pleasure, consecrate the church when he returns, will preach to them himself in Portuguese during his residence at Madras, and fix among them a regular minister."†

* "We have not dismissed these Missionaries. They have first seceded, and then opened war against us."—Letter from the Curatorium to the Calcutta Committee.

† Robinson's Last Days of Bishop Heber (Madras Edition), page 111.

There are some striking points of resemblance in the two cases, and the principle is identical. But, alas ! Bishop Heber's intention was never carried out. This letter was written on March 9th, and he died on the 3rd of the following month.

Then to pass to a more recent period. In the year 1864, Bishop Cotton clearly contemplated the possibility of having to carry out this principle, in the case of this very Mission. He wrote to the Curatorium (in May 1864) impressing strongly upon them that if, as it seemed, there was a lack of interest, or of funds, in Germany to meet the necessary expenses of this Mission, "then both the Archdeacon and I venture to suggest the revival of Pastor Gossner's wish, that his work should be carried on by the Church Missionary Society in connection with the Church of England. * * * I therefore hope that, if you find on mature deliberation that you cannot properly maintain the Mission, you will write to the Rev. H. Venn, or one of the Secretaries in London, and propose the reconsideration of Pastor Gossner's last wishes for his Mission." Then in a letter to the Rev. H. Venn he thus wrote : "Union with our church is heartily sought by Mr. F. Batsch,* the now only ordained Missionary at Ranchi. * * * Col. Dalton also greatly wishes for the union ; and all the lay brethren of the Mission at Ranchi said, it seemed

* There is nothing in this statement of Bishop Cotton really inconsistent with the admission made by the Revd. F. Batsch (see page 64 *Note*), that *he* had then discouraged the transfer to the English Church. His impression was, that *if possible* the Mission should retain its national character and connexion ; and such was his reply when the question was referred to him ; at the same time, he was prepared, should *the necessity arise*, to carry out the union with the Anglican Church, in preference to any other communion, if thereby the Mission could only be saved. The necessity was then temporarily averted, only to arise in a different and far graver form.

to them the only way by which the work could be preserved from falling to pieces." *

Then was it so unjustifiable? That the elder pastors, cast off by the Curatorium, were not to be left to starve, and their converts allowed to drift back into heathenism, seems to be admitted even by those who condemn Bishop Milman's course. The chief objection seems to be in an Anglican Bishop and Society coming to their help.

Now, when, not two years ago, Dr. Norman MacLeod visited Calcutta, it seemed to have been generally acknowledged that the Presidential Chair of the General Missionary Meeting belonged by right, as well as by courtesy, to the Bishop of Calcutta, as the chief representative of Religion and Mission-labour in the Presidency: and his occupying it on that occasion was (*ni fallor*) generally accepted as a sign of large Christian sympathy, and liberality of views. Is there not some inconsistency in saying that when a body of Missionary pastors, with several thousand converts, have been cast adrift by their own Society, and thrown on the generosity of the Christian public, he, and he only, is prohibited from coming to their help? Is the Bishop of Calcutta to understand that his is only an *official* and not a *spiritual* pre-eminence and responsibility? Well is this answered, and well are all the cavils from Berlin at his "desire to interfere in their mission work," † "at his mixing himself up in a field of labour to which he was not called," ‡ silenced by

* As much misapprehension exists as to the purport of this letter to the Curatorium, it is given *in extenso* in the Appendix.

† Letter of the Curatorium to Bishop Milman.

‡ Letter of the Berlin Correspondent of the *Friend of India*, June 17th, 1869.

the words of a writer, who regards the whole movement from a lay, and not an ecclesiastical point of view, "the Bishop of Calcutta would have been shrinking from one of the most solemn duties of his position, had he shut his ears to their cry." *

The second complaint against Bishop Milman's conduct is that it was hasty and premature. † His own account of the preliminary negotiations will best refute this statement. "He was asked in June last (1868), when at Murree, to come forward to help the Christian converts of Chôta Nagpore; he was urgently appealed to by Colonel Dalton and others, *before* he commenced his Central India visitation (January 14th), but as long as there was any hope of reconciliation between the parties, the Bishop refused even to visit Ranchi. After his return from Ranchi, before taking any irrevocable step in the fulfilment of his undertaking, he spoke to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, and conferred with Messrs. Schröder and Pilgram (of the German Auxiliary Committee in Calcutta). He resolved, there, to carry out, after a month's interval, that which seemed to him the general decision, by finally complying with the request of the elder Missionaries and their people." ‡ To this it may be added, as already stated, § that the Bishop's first thought, on his first visit to Ranchi in April, was to see how far a reconciliation might still be possible; with this view he intended to have an interview with Mr. Ansorge. But on his arrival at Ranchi he found that Mr. Ansorge had left. He even then resisted for some time the importunity of the converts,

* *Englishman*, June 13th, 1869.

† *Friend of India*, May 13th, and June 17th, 1869.

‡ See letter from the Rev. M. R. Burge, Domestic Chaplain, in *Friend of India*, May 13th, 1869.

§ Page 62.

and the urgency of the residents, and refused at once to give a promise, pressing on them the advisability of a further reference to Berlin, *himself offering to write to the Curatorium.*

Much stress has been laid in some quarters on the course adopted by Bishop Cotton in 1864, as contrasted with that pursued by Bishop Milman in 1869.* The circumstances of the two periods are so different they hardly admit of any comparison. Bishop Cotton found the pastors neglected, and the whole mission in danger of collapsing from lack of funds. Bishop Milman found all the elder missionaries, and some of the younger ones, with a following of some 7,000 converts, cast off by the Curatorium, and begging to be admitted into the English Church.†

Bishop Cotton did not take over the mission, though he did contemplate the possibility, because the mission *never asked* him ; their then pressing want was pecuniary help, to enable them to carry it on. Bishop Milman did take it over ; because he was *entreated, importuned*, to do so by a majority of the Missionaries,—those who had founded and built it up, and who had now been cast off,—by thousands of the native converts, and by all the local friends of the mission. What parallel is there between the circumstances of the two periods ? At the

* *Friend of India*, June 17th, 1869.—“ Would the Bishop not have done well to follow the example of his predecessor and of the Church Missionary Society ? The former refused to interfere, while appealing to the Berlin Committee to do its duty. The latter advanced funds to support the Mission in its own way for a time till the crisis was past.” The example of Bishop Cotton is explained above. The allusion to the Church Missionary Society needs a slight correction. The aid given by that Society was in 1860 and 1861, *not in 1864 at all*. The one good result of Bishop Cotton’s action in the matter in 1864 was the formation of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee. *See above, pp. 32-33.*

† They avowed that their chief objection to join the Presbyterians was their Lutheran dislike of Calvinism.

one time it had been purely a financial, it was now a constitutional question. But it has been urged that Bishop Milman ought, at any rate, to have so far followed Bishop Cotton's example, as to have addressed the Curatorium. As already shewn, his desire and intention on going to Ranchi was, that the Curatorium should be again appealed to before he took definite action. Such was the uniform tenor of his advice to the converts, and to the Ranchi residents; such the course he himself *proposed* to pursue. But he was on every side discouraged. He was reminded how the poor Missionaries had fared—insult added to injury,—how Colonel Dalton's letter, and the intervention of the local committee had been received—with silent contempt.* How little hope then had he that any answer at all would be vouchsafed to him, still less that that answer would have been conciliatory, opening the way either to restoration of the Missionaries who had been turned off, or to a friendly arrangement with himself. It is sometimes urged that such a step might have had this good effect—though it might not have saved the old pastors, their doom seemed irrevocably sealed—for it might have given still stronger justification to the Bishop for the step he felt himself eventually constrained to take. Now, had the answer been, as no doubt under the still continued influence of Mr. Ansorge it would have been, a distinct refusal, how much more difficult would the Bishop's position have been. He would still have *felt constrained* to say, as he did in his letter to Mr. Ansorge,† “I did not seek them, but they sought me repeatedly: and I cannot in justice refuse them their earnest petition and desire.” He would have felt no less constrained to act, despite the refusal. But he would then have

* Private information had been received from Berlin that the Curatorium intended not to notice any communication that came from Englishmen.

† Dated April 17th, 1869. See Appendix.

had to surmount an additional barrier, and one of his own raising, a distinct prohibition of the Curatorium : and that body would then have been irrevocably pledged to a course of antagonism. The temporary *éclat* of courtesy and prudence might have been gained : but the ultimate attainment of the great end would have been rendered more difficult *than it is even now*.

The third ground of complaint against Bishop Milman is, that he admitted such of the missionaries as desired it to Anglican Orders. The act of re-ordination considered. This act has been stigmatized as "stereotyping schism by renewed ordination," * and has been called "the farce of re-ordination."† Was such a step as admitting to Episcopal Orders men who had only received Presbyterian Ordination so wholly unknown? and unknown in this Diocese? What if it can be shewn that the saintly Reginald Heber—the evangelical Daniel Wilson—neither of them supposed to be tainted with "priestcraft" or "sacramentarian teaching"—that Bishop Cotton regarded in some quarters as a model Bishop, for the breadth of his views,—have all countenanced, nay, have actually taken such a step!

The first to do so was Bishop Heber. The circumstances and motives under which he adopted this course, are thus fully explained by his then chaplain, Mr. Robinson : afterwards Archdeacon of Madras :—

"November 30th, 1826. This morning has been rendered interesting by the ordination of Mr. Bowley, Mr. Reichardt, and Abdool Messeeh ; the last, a most venerable person, the first fruit of the Christian priesthood in Hindostan. You are aware that they had all, some years ago, received Presby-

* *Friend of India*, May 13th, 1869.

† *Friend of India*, June 17th, 1869.

terian ordination in Calcutta. Bishop Heber has been anxious, as he is on all subjects, to ascertain what had been the feeling of his predecessor on a point of so much delicacy ; and he finds that Bishop Middleton, not having power at that time to ordain them himself,* expressed no objection to the measure then resorted to, as a temporary expedient, in consideration of the exigencies of the church, and the difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of regularly ordained clergymen. This is, indeed, the ground on which the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has acted in the Missions in the south of India, recognizing the orders of a sister national Church,† and thankfully employing as its missionaries those who had received them, till our own Episcopacy should be established with full powers in this Diocese for the continuance of its own ministry. That time has now happily arrived, and it justly appears to the Bishop a matter of no trifling importance that all those employed by the societies in our communion, should derive their commission from the same source, and be subject to the same paternal authority. I send you an admirable letter he has written to the Rev. Mr. Schmid, in answer to the objections he urged against the measure." ‡

Nor, had such a course been confined to Missionaries belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This is noteworthy, as refuting one ground of complaint taken by those who objected to Bishop Milman's conduct. An examination of all such instances of admission of

* Arising from a vagueness in the wording of his Letters Patent.

† The Episcopal Ordination of clergy of the Churches of Sweden and Denmark was fully recognised.

‡ Archdeacon Robinson's "Last Days of Bishop Heber," p. 64. An Extract from this letter of Bishop Heber to the Rev. Deocar Schmid is given in the Appendix.

Lutheran Pastors into Anglican orders, during the two preceding Episcopates, will show a majority in favor of the Church Missionary Society—a Society which is not generally associated with the idea of an undue tendency to what are called “Sacramentarian theories,” or to an over valuing of episcopal ordination.

It is clearly shown, then, that this re-ordination (as it is called) of these devoted Pastors of Ranchi, was not a step so unprecedented or so unknown in the Diocese of Calcutta ; but that in adopting this course, Bishop Milman had not only the high standing ground of a “*mens conscia recti*,” but found himself fully supported by precedents bequeathed by his predecessors in the see, ranging over a period of above forty years.

Then, again, were the feelings and wishes of the Pastors themselves not to be taken into account ? It was *their wish*. They avowed that they did not accept it as a condition, but *desired* it as supplying what they themselves felt to be a want. And it is no secret that a similar sense of something defective in Lutheran orders is beginning to show itself in other of the German Missionaries. In their case it is easily intelligible how four years and more of weary struggle, hoping against hope—a struggle which culminated in the charges and injustice of 1868, tended to shake more and more their faith in their position under a Curatorium at Berlin, and also in their ecclesiastical status in the Church of Christ.

—Not only with reference to their desire for admission into the English, but equally, and even more, so in their yearning for Anglican orders, were the words of Bishop Milman, already quoted, true, “he did not seek them : but they sought him,” and on what conceivable ground should he have justified to himself the refusal of their repeated desire ?

A few words remain now to be added. Misrepresentation has done its work. It has very seriously retarded the great work which the English Church here entered. But let us hope it has done its *worst*. TRUTH WILL PREVAIL. And while we pen these concluding lines, there rises up before us in imagination and in hope that picture, which no one cognisant of the circumstances and interested in the Mission, can fail to contemplate with thankfulness,—peace and harmony once more reigning in Chôta Nagpore. The Church and Mission and School-houses, all raised by Gossner's Missionaries, again held by those who constitute exclusively Gosner's Mission. The material part of the Mission bought back, if it must be, by its original founders, but once again theirs. The young men who caused the sad schism selecting other fields whereon to expend their energy. New centres formed at Chyabassa and Purulia : more Missionaries, with German simplicity and perseverance, flocking out to strengthen the hands of the old fathers of the Mission ; and God's blessing manifesting itself on every side, not merely, or so much, in numerical results—but in the harmony and love pervading the whole community, in the realisation of the Divine promise, which in years gone by sustained many a patient waiter on the Lord in Chôta Nagpore.

‘ They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.’

APPENDIX

A.*Memorial of the Ranchi Residents to the Bishop of Calcutta.*

[See page 65.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

A COPY of Mr. Schröder's Report on the present state of affairs in the Chôta Nagpore Mission having been laid before your Lordship, it is needless for us to dwell on those past events which have brought about the present crisis.

The action taken by the residents of Ranchi and Dorunda in connection with these matters is known to your Lordship, but we would briefly review it.

Convinced of the gross injustice done to Mr. F. Batsch and other of the elder Pastors of the Kôl Church—an injustice which forced those gentlemen to leave the German Lutheran Mission Association, pending an appeal to the Parent Society in Berlin—we, the residents, resolved to take steps for raising the necessary funds to enable Mr. Batsch to carry on his Mission work until the result of the appeal should be known, and we also addressed a letter to that Society, in the hope that we might open its eyes to see how matters here really stood. To this letter we have received no answer, but we now learn from communications made direct to Mr. F. Batsch, that his and the other elder Missionaries' connection with that Society has ceased for ever.

This Society appears to overlook the fact that, although its dictum may dissolve the connection between itself and these few Missionaries, it can in no way dissolve the connection between those Missionaries and their congregation, and the result has shown that, although its authority has driven these Missionaries out of the Ranchi Church buildings, it has driven with them the bulk of the Native Christian congregation also.

The portion of the Church which stands with Mr. Batsch, though large, is not in a position to support its own Pastors and Church institutions, and it is necessary that some steps be now taken to enable Mr. Batsch and the elder Missionaries to carry on their Mission work on some permanent basis, and we gladly take advantage of your Lordship's visit to bring our views to your notice, in the hope that they

will meet with your approval, and that we shall have your Lordship's assistance in carrying them out.

Warm friends and supporters as we are of Mr. F. Batsch and the other elder Missionaries, respecting and admiring them as we do, we still think that the present is a question which should be considered with reference to the great progress hitherto made by the Mission and the further spread of Christianity in Chôta Nagpore, and not with regard only to individual wrongs; we would, therefore, invite your Lordship's especial attention to the present state of the Chôta Nagpore Christians.

This community, as your Lordship is without doubt aware, beginning some 20 years ago with its first converts, has, by the blessing of God on the unceasing labours of Mr. F. Batsch and the other elder Missionaries, gathered strength year by year, till it numbers 10,000.

This large body of Christians has grown up under the pastoral care of those whose cause we espoused, and especially under the guidance of Mr. F. Batsch, who is consequently regarded with great reverence and affection by the Native Christians.

Knowing the British Government to be a Christian Government, it must have seemed but natural to those Kôls that their Senior Pastors should enjoy in a high degree the confidence and respect of all those officials, who, as the representatives of that Government, are their temporal masters.

Such being their feelings, it is easy to understand their amazement when they saw Mr. F. Batsch and their other old Pastors driven from the Church in which they had for so many years preached to them,—the Church they had themselves built, and in which these very Pastors had opened to them the gates of heaven through the solemn sacrament of Baptism—an amazement which must have been doubled when they saw, that, notwithstanding all the representatives of their Government being in support of Mr. Batsch, they are powerless to maintain him in his old position in his own Church.

Your Lordship will readily perceive how very difficult it must be for these poor Kôls to realise that, in any matter connected with their government—even though it be their spiritual government—a decision should have to be looked for from any country other than England.

We believe that few young Churches have been tried as this Chôta Nagpore Church has; but it has stood it nobly;—and hard as must have been the struggle—many as were the inducements held out to

them to stand to their old Church building,—the whole native staff of Mission, all the leading and influential members of the congregation, and the bulk of the Church generally, have turned their back on that old building, and followed their Pastors who were forced to leave it.

A small portion of the Kôl congregation have clung to the old Church building, not, we believe, out of any other feeling than the inherent love of an old institution. Another set, who are more agitators than Christians—men who on account too of their quarrels and land disputes, the elder Missionaries very wisely would not recognise, cling, not to the Church with which they can have no possible sympathy, but to the young Missionaries; and this they do through a mistaken idea that by their aid they can obtain possession of land to which they have no legal right.

That portion of the Church which remains with Mr. Batsch numbers, we believe, some 7,000, and we now learn that out of the bewilderment caused by late events, they begin to realise that, had they and their Pastors belonged to the Church of England, they could not have been treated as they have been; and that, finding themselves to be at present like a flock without a fold, the wish has arisen among them to take refuge in the Church of England.

This wish appears to us to be most natural, and we believe that the time has arrived when, for many reasons, political and others, the Kôl Church should become identified with the Church of England; and that this step will be advantageous both to the spread of Christianity and the peace of the people.

In connection with this movement, it becomes necessary that some arrangements be at once made for the permanent support of the Mission over which Mr. Batsch still presides, by its affiliation with one of the Church of England Missionary Societies, and this we wish to see done.

(Sd.) E. T. DALTON, *Colonel*,

„ W. J. HOUCHE, *Lt.-Colonel*,

„ E. ROWLANDSON, *Captain*,

„ J. P. CLARKE, *Major*,

and fourteen others.

APPENDIX

B.

[See page 66.]

RANCHI, March 17th, 1869.

Translation, by a Native Clergyman, of the Bishop's Hindi Address in reply to the Petition from the Kôls of Chôta Nagpore, to be received into the English Church.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

WHEN formerly I had intended to visit this Mission of Chôta Nagpore, I had hopes of great comfort and joy, because I had heard much in favor and praise of this Mission. But having heard that there was some trouble and dispute I delayed for a time, with this expectation that this difficulty would pass away, and peace and unity be restored, and that I, arriving here, should feel that joy.

But being on the spot I find such is not the case ; but rather that two petitions, one from yourselves, and one from my countrymen, were brought to me. And what do I see ? This ; that those troubles and disputes are still going on, and are even increasing.

This also I learn, that both your old Missionaries and yourselves also are very desirous that I should make some arrangements for receiving you into the English Church.

This is a serious matter. I have heard that Mr. Gossner, the founder of this Mission, had entertained such a hope.

I have heard this also, that Bishop Cotton, my predecessor, thought a good deal about this question ; but, observing the success of this Mission, thought it better to let things remain as they were.

But, alas ! instead of peace and success, there are found troubles and quarrels. And whence have these great calamities proceeded ?

Therefore it seems necessary and proper that I should make what arrangements I can, and that I should think over the remedy which you, and Colonel Dalton, and others of my countrymen, propose ; and should also endeavour to learn what is the will of Christ.

After reflecting over the question a good deal, it has become clear to me that your old Missionary, Mr. Batsch, is entirely without blame.

He is not the cause of this sad quarrel. This is also clear, that the Berlin Committee required that they should confess that they had done

wrong, and return to them ; which is both unjustifiable and impossible. Until the arrival of the new Missionaries, and managers, there was no quarrel.

I am, therefore, happy to fulfil your and their desire, and receive your congregation and your Mission into the English Church.

But there will be some difficulties in the arrangements necessary for the accomplishment of this object. I must consult with our Missionary Society, and it will also be advisable to consult the Committee of this Mission which is in Calcutta.

All these buildings—this fine Church and the School-house—which have been built through the exertion of Mr. Herzog, belong, I suppose, to the Berlin Committee.

Other buildings must be erected in their stead, and some arrangements must be made for that object.

Therefore, after my return to Calcutta, I will consult with the Committee of our Missionary Society, and also with the Committee of your Mission, and then I will send you a reply through a letter. And I hope that I myself, also, shall soon return to you and shall be able to fulfil your desire by receiving you into the English Church.

In the meantime do you pray to God day and night, as I also will do, that He Who caused light to shine forth from darkness will also give us light in this darkness, and that merciful Saviour Who rebuked the storm and waves of the sea will also rebuke this spiritual storm, and there will be great calm and peace.

APPENDIX

C.

[See page 74.]

During the Bishop's visit to Ranchi, a month after, for the express purpose of receiving the Kôl Converts into the English Church, and some of their elder Pastors into English Orders, the following letter, called a Protest, was sent to the Bishop from Mr. Ansorge.

RANCHI, April 12th, 1869

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,

It is a matter of extreme regret to me to have missed the opportunity of seeing your Lordship during your late visit at Ranchi. Messrs. Hoeberlin, Jellinghaus and Flex, who called upon you to pay

their respects, have acquainted me with the result of their interview with your Lordship, *viz.*, that you had resolved to receive those missionaries that have left our mission, renounced their allegiance to our committee, and induced a number of converts to follow their example, into the Church of England, and I now learn that you are on the point of carrying out your resolution by ordaining three of those seceders.

As representative of our committee, properly delegated and legally authorised, it is my duty to inform your Lordship herewith :

1. That I consider your interference in our German mission uncalled for and unjust; for when those seceders asked your assistance, they might be received into another church, but not our converts, who are by no means their personal property, but children of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, who is not willing to part with them;
2. That I consider the way in which you intend incorporating those seceders with their followers into your church, unfair as well as illegal; for, in order to appropriate a portion of our mission, it was necessary to refer to our committee, and ask their permission;
3. That I consider the plan of creating an Opposition Mission here in Ranchi as conducive to the entire ruin of the integrity of our native church, and therefore not only unwise but inconsistent with the principles of Christianity.

And beg in consequence herein to lay down my solemn protest:

1. Against the erection of an Opposition Mission in our church;
2. Against the intended ordination of our seceded missionaries without your having duly consulted Drs. Bruchsel and Hoffmann, General Superintendents in Berlin, and members of our Home—and Auxiliary—Committee.

I beg to remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. ANSORGE,

Secy. to the Evangelical Lutheran Mission

founded by Pastor Gossner.



APPENDIX

D.

[See page 99.]

Copy of the Bishop of Calcutta's reply to Mr. Ansorge's Protest.

RANCHI, April 17th, 1869.

REV. SIR,

I HAVE diligently considered all the circumstances of the unfortunate differences that have arisen in the Chôta Nagpore Mission. I read carefully the Manifesto of the Berlin Committee, which I received from the younger missionaries, who kindly came to me at my request when I was at Ranchi before. The paper seemed to me fully to *justify* the elder missionaries, under whom the mission had singularly flourished.

I came to the conclusion that it is my duty to support the elder missionaries, who, in my opinion, were unjustly treated, and practically dismissed without cause.

I also judged that, for the spiritual welfare of the converts, the presence of the elder missionaries is absolutely necessary. I do not consider them to be the authors of the division that has taken place. Therefore, at the request of all the local resident supporters of the mission, and in agreement with the members of the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee, I have undertaken to receive the elder missionaries, and the converts made through *their* instrumentality, into the English Church. I did not seek them: but they sought me repeatedly; and I cannot in justice refuse them their earnest petition and desire.

I fervently hope the Berlin Committee will withdraw the younger missionaries from the place pre-occupied by the elder missionaries, and make some friendly arrangement for the restoration of the church and buildings to those missionaries by whose exertions they were chiefly raised.

Believe me that I have sought for God's guidance in this matter; and I cannot say that I doubt the correctness of my judgment in it, especially as I have the universal concurrence of the supporters of the mission in India itself.

I have already begun to receive the native converts, and do not think myself justified in delaying the reception of the elder missionaries into English Orders, and upon the list of one of our societies.

I am sorry that your absence during my previous visits has caused your protest to arrive so late. It is now a whole month since I was at *Ranchi*. I will, however, write to one of the gentlemen whom you name at Berlin, and give the committee the best advice that I can under the circumstances.

I am,

Yours truly in Christ,

R. CALCUTTA.

REV. H. ANSORGE,

Secretary to the Evangelical Missionary Society at Berlin.

APPENDIX

E.

Copy of a letter written by Bishop Cotton to the Rev. H. Venn, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, regarding the Chôta Nagpore Mission.

[See page 95.]

BISHOP'S PALACE, CALCUTTA :

May 4th, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. VENN,

THE enclosed letter, being a copy of that addressed by me to the Rev. Dr. Buschel, the principal member of Pastor Gossner's Committee at Berlin, will tell its own tale. I send you this copy in order to prepare you for the possible, though not, I fear, very probable, application of the Committee to the Church Missionary Society, to take up their work.

Should the application be made, I earnestly hope it will be complied with. Union with our Church is heartily sought for by Mr. F. Batsch, the only ordained Missionary at Ranchi ; and he is quite ready to be admitted to English Orders, in the same manner as I admitted Messrs. Hœrnle, Schneider, and Hesselmeyer. I spoke to him fully in private on all the possible objections, such as the effect on the native Christians of a sudden change in the Church and Service, &c., and he gave me satisfactory answers and explanations of all the difficulties which I

started. Col. Dalton also greatly wishes for the union, and all the lay brethren of the Mission at Ranchi said, that it seemed to them the only means by which the work could be preserved from falling to pieces.

Of course, if the offer is made by Pastor Gossner's Committee, various details must be settled; but I see none which need interfere with the union. It will also appear from my letter that I am not urging you merely to take up a Church already formed, but to enter upon an enormous field of evangelistic work "white already unto harvest." It is one which would unite in character and geography with the Sonthal Mission. I must leave the Archdeacon to record his own impression.*

I remain, &c., &c.,

G. E. L. Calcutta.

APPENDIX

F.

[See page 96.]

Letter from Bishop Cotton to the President of the Curatorium of Gossner's Evangelical Missions.

Bishop's Palace, Calcutta 4th May 1864.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I have to begin my letter by an apology both for addressing you as a stranger, and also for appearing to interfere in a matter with which I have no special concern. I can only say, that the interference is not spontaneous on my part, but forced upon me by very strong moral arguments, and that the point on which I am writing is one of the deepest interest to all Christians in India, in common with all who are connected with missionary work. I had often heard with sincere pleasure and thankfulness of the marked success with which God had blest the efforts of the Missionaries sent by Pastor Gossner to Chôta Nagpore. But I had never seen the Mission, and though I knew generally that it was less flourishing financially than spiritually, I was not aware that it was in pressing difficulties, till I received letters from two of its steadiest friends, Colonel Dalton, the Commissioner

* (These were quite as strong—in favor of the step as were the Bishop's.)

of Chôta Nagpore, and the Rev. H. B. Burney, Chaplain of Hazareebaugh, who occasionally visits the English congregation at Ranchi for the administration of the sacraments, and other ministerial purposes. These gentlemen both stated their conviction that unless the Mission could receive some permanent and trustworthy support, it would fall to pieces, and requested me to come and see how great and important the work is which is thus endangered. Accordingly I requested the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, whose long experience in India and of Missions would, I thought, make his help and counsel particularly valuable, to accompany me to Hazareebaugh and Ranchi ; and we arrived at the latter place on April 23rd. I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. Frederic Batsch, Mr. Henry Batsch, and Mr. Brandt (whose broken health is a cause for serious uneasiness and regret), together with several lay brethren ; and we saw with thankful hearts the impressive and encouraging work which they are carrying on, in the most faithful, devoted, and unselfish spirit. It was our happiness to see 143 Kôls admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ. At the Sunday service about 1,200 were present, and nearly 600 received the Lord's Supper, about 2,000 Native Christians had gathered at Ranchi for the services, and were bivouacked in the courtyard of a large serai, near the Mission premises. The church is a substantial Gothic building, of a good ecclesiastical design. The school-children look neat and orderly ; and seemed well taught. The singing was most pleasing, thoroughly simple and devotional, and well calculated to add solemnity and earnestness to public worship. The character which the Civilians of Ranchi give the Native Christians, is at least equal to the estimation in which the Tinnevely Christians are held by the authorities of that province. Doubtless they are not faultless, but still we heard so much of their general order and diligence, the purity of their households, and their anxiety to be guided in the paths of righteousness, that it was clear that their conversion from heathenism to Christianity is indeed a change from death to life. The whole number of converts is now about 5,000. These facts, I think, sufficiently shew that any interruption to this work would be a real disaster, and one which should cause sorrow and shame to every Christian. But I must go further than this, the work must not only not be interrupted, it must be spread. It is quite clear that the Word of Life has gone forth among the hill tribes of Chôta Nagpore, and that many are pressing into the Kingdom of God. But the Missionaries, for the want of funds, cannot carry on the work. Their own salaries should be secured or such a sure

tenure that their minds may be free from anxiety. The number of Missionaries should be increased. Now, that Mr. Brandt is driven home by ill-health, the whole work at Ranchi depends, humanly speaking, on the health of Mr. Frederic Batsch. A training school is wanted. Since my return from Ranchi, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has written to me to say, that he will most gladly meet, with liberal help from Government, any extension of missionary education in Chôta Nagpore. But at present Mr. Batsch can barely maintain the ground already occupied, much less extend it.

The first and pressing object of my letter therefore is, to urge the Committee, which has inherited the work of Pastor Gossner, to send speedy and liberal help both in men and money to the brethren of Ranchi. Without this I don't know what evil may not happen, and it is besides hard upon those who are so zealous and self-denying, that they should be in daily anxiety both about their Missions and their own subsistence, I trust therefore, that you may be able to give them a permanent security for their own incomes, and for the supply of their educational and evangelistic wants. If this can be done, all is done ; I have no more to say, and will gladly leave the result to God who has already so largely blest their labours.

But if this cannot be done, if the connection between India and Prussia is too weak, or the multiplicity of objects for Prussian benevolence too great, to enable you thus to secure the position and extend the usefulness of your Missionaries, then both the Archdeacon and I venture to suggest the revival of Pastor Gossner's wish, that this work should be carried on by the C. M. S. in communion with the Church of England. We are not proselytizers, who would disturb other Christian bodies in order to swell the importance of that to which we belong ; nor, when all India is before us, do we desire to build on another man's foundation ? Nor am I writing this after communication with any agent of the C. M. S. in England. I write it on my own responsibility, and do not even know for certain that the Society would accept the charge, though I trust that they would, and if it were offered to them, should urge them to do so. But I do desire, above all things, that this work in Chôta Nagpore should be continued, and if for any reason it is beyond your strength, I think that it ought to be transferred to a body which, as directly connected with the ruling race, and most important Church in India, is likely, by God's blessing, to have at least a sufficiency of outward means and appliances for this great

end, and which will always gratefully remember how much Christianity in this country owes to Pastor Gossner and his associates. And I therefore hope that if you find, on mature deliberation, that you cannot properly maintain this Mission you will write to Rev. H. Venn, or one of the Secretaries in London, and propose a reconsideration of Pastor Gossner's last wishes for his Mission.

Believe me, Rev. Sir,

Your faithful friend and brother in Christ,

(Sd.)

G. E. L. CALCUTTA.

Copy of Pastor Gossner's letter to the Church Missionary Society.

BERLIN, Dec. 4th, 1857.

BRETHREN,—It is not unknown to you that I have, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ been endeavouring to do something towards the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom in India. But entering now on my 85th year, and feeling that my strength is beginning to fail me, I must, I am aware, sooner or later cease entirely from all active and efficient superintendence of the Missions which I have been instrumental to establish. Desirous though I am, however, to put the work into other hands, the Lord seems at least not willing to give me a successor here to carry on the work so as I should wish. I therefore purpose in the Lord to transfer the said Missions as they are, and the not inconsiderable funds and means I have, to the care of the Missionary Society of the Church of England. Illness prevents me to correspond myself with you on the subject. I have in consequence, with the consent of my committee, authorised the Rev. Emil Schatz, who is our Senior Missionary to the Mission amongst the Coles in Chôta Nagpore, not merely to lay my wish before your Society and to ascertain your views, but to come to an eventual arrangement, should my offer appear to you to deserve attention to be acceptable. Committing all into the hands of our gracious Redeemer, and praying that He may guide you to come to a conclusion most conducive to His own glory and the enlightenment of the benighted races of India, I am, with the members of my Committee, Yours in the Lord,

TESMER.

JOHANNES GOSSNER.

T. TAMM.

A. BEYERHAUS.

F. NIQUEL.

Extract from Bishop Heber's letter to the Rev. Deocar Schmid on the Ordination of Lutheran Missionaries:

"You appear to have misunderstood me in our last conversation. You suppose that I generally admit ordination by presbyters without a Bishop to be valid. I do not admit this. All I said is, that, when a Christian nation has, by unfortunate circumstances, lost its Apostolic succession of Bishops, the continuance of ministers being a thing absolutely needful and essential, those good men are not to be censured who perpetuate it by the best means in their power. And were I to return to Germany, I would again, as before, humbly and thankfully avail myself of the preaching and sacramental ordinances of the Lutheran Evangelic Church, not doubting that they are a true Church of Christ, and that the Spirit of God is with them, as I trust He is with us also.

"But, though an imperfect ordination may doubtless be accepted by our Lord and Common Master, and though a Church, under circumstances such as I have described, may remain a true Church still, it does not follow that, where this supposed deficiency may be supplied, it may not be advisable for a minister of the Gospel, either to seek for fresh orders himself, or to counsel others to do so. And this may be more especially advisable where his or their ministerial utility is likely to be much augmented by a closer union with a Church under (what I conceive to be) the ancient discipline. We (*i. e.*, the members of our Church) have no right or inclination to judge other national Churches. But our own flocks have a sacred right to be well satisfied as to the Divine commission of those whom other spiritual rulers set over them. Even where the smallest doubt exists of the perfection of the Orders received, and their conformity to Apostolical practice, it may be a part of Christian prudence to choose the safer side. And even where this doubt is not felt by ourselves, yet, if its existence in others impedes our usefulness, we have the highest possible warrant, in the case of St. Paul and Timothy, for condescending, even in a more material point, to the failings and prejudices of our brethren. Accordingly, if a preacher ordained in the method practised in Germany, foresees a marked advantage to Christ's cause in a closer alliance to his Episcopalian brethren, I see not that he dishonors his previous commission by seeking our prayers and blessings in the form which *we* think most conformable to God's will."*

* Ibid. pp. 11-13.

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Cave-Browne, J.

The Chota Nagpore Mission; its history and present position By J. Cave-Browne

Calcutta 1870

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